

*The History and Architecture of the Monastery of Saint
John Chrysostomos at Koutsovendis, Cyprus*

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with a preface by Cyril Mango
and an appendix by Michael Grünbart

THE RESTORATION of the fragmentary wall paintings in the monastery of Saint John Chrysostomos at Koutsovendis (northeast of Nicosia) was carried out under the auspices of Dumbarton Oaks in 1963 and 1968–69. It was hoped thereafter to conduct a final campaign in order to clarify certain points of detail that had remained unresolved, but the Turkish occupation of northern Cyprus (1974) created what became a permanent obstacle. Because of its strategic position overlooking the Nicosia plain, the monastery was turned into an army post and all our attempts to visit it proved fruitless.

After considerable delay we decided to present to the public a descriptive account of our findings with full photographic illustration to document the condition of the monument as we last saw it in 1969, while at the same time providing scholars at large with a body of important new material relating to the history of Byzantine art. With the generous assistance of the A. G. Leventis Foundation this account, written by the undersigned in collaboration with (the late) E. J. W. Hawkins and Susan Boyd, was published in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990): 63–94. It was my intention at the time to follow up the inevitably dry description with an essay devoted to the history of the monument, its architecture, and especially the iconography and style of the paintings, but as the years passed, my scholarly activities took me farther and farther from Byzantine Cyprus. I invited, therefore, Dr. Tassos Papacostas to take on the section devoted to history and architecture and Dr. Maria Parani to tackle the paintings. To both of them I passed on all the relevant materials in my possession. I am glad to say that Dr. Papacostas has done a much better job on his part than I would have been able to do. Dr. Parani's contribution will, I hope, follow shortly.

It remains to pay tribute to the departed, especially A. H. S. ("Peter") Megaw, who strongly recommended the Chrysostomos project to Dumbarton Oaks and took an active interest in it, and Ernest Hawkins, who directed the work of restoration not only at Chrysostomos, but in several other Cypriot churches as well. To both of them Cyprus owes a great debt.

—Cyril Mango

1 A significant part of the research and writing up of this paper was carried out at Dumbarton Oaks in 2004 during a Summer Fellowship, for which I am most grateful. I should also thank the two anonymous readers for their valuable comments, which helped to improve this study. Large parts of what follows are based on the extensive notes of Cyril Mango, to whom I am indebted for his help throughout the preparation of this paper, and of course for making these notes available to me. I am also particularly grateful to Michael Grünbart for agreeing to undertake the task of editing and translating the letter of Nikon of the Black Mountain to George of Koutsovendis.

Chronology of Dated Events

- 1081 4 April: accession of Alexios I Komnenos
- 1084 3 December: Seljuks capture Antioch
- 1085 4 December: monk Michael finishes copying Arabic Life of John of Damascus
- 1088 April: foundation of monastery of Theologian on Patmos by Christodoulos
- 1089/90 monk and presbyter Gerasimos copies Jer. Saba 259 in Cyprus
- 1090 9 December: consecration of *katholikon* at Koutsovendis
- 1091 February/March: Cyprus already under rebel Rhapsomates
before October: foundation of Theotokos Alypos by Epiphаний Paschales
- 1091/92 John Oxeites in Cyprus en route to Antioch
- 1092 Eumathios Philokales receives Christodoulos of Patmos in Euboea
- 1093 16 March: death of Christodoulos of Patmos in Euboea
- 1094 ? John Doukas sent against Çaka in Aegean
Cypriot prelates and John Doukas attend Blachernai synod
- 1095 ? Rhapsomates subdued by John Doukas and Manuel Boutoumites
? Eumathios Philokales sent to Cyprus as military commander
- 1097 19 August: fleet from Cyprus attacks Laodicea
21 October: Crusader siege of Antioch begins, supplies sent from Cyprus
Symeon II of Jerusalem flees to Cyprus
- 1098 3 June: Crusaders capture Antioch
26 August: Fatimids capture Jerusalem from Artuqids
? Theoktistos (later hegumen of Patmos) flees from Palestine to Cyprus
- 1099 financial contribution from Cyprus to Holy Sepulcher
25 January: Gerasimos Antiocheites finishes Sinait. gr. 741/742 at St. Sabas
? 26 April: death of George of Koutsovendis
? Theoktistos (later hegumen of Patmos) leaves Koutsovendis for Patmos
15 July: Jerusalem in Crusader hands
Eumathios Philokales attested as *doux* of Cyprus
August/September (?): Pisan fleet attacks Cyprus
- 1100 John Oxeites leaves Antioch
- 1102/3 Eumathios Philokales helps with construction of Mont-Pèlerin
Constantine Katakalon replaces Eumathios Philokales as *doux* of Cyprus
- 1105 Eumathios Philokales attested at Constantinople as *sebastos*
John VIII becomes patriarch of Jerusalem
- 1105/6 fresco decoration at Panagia Phorbiotissa of Asinou for Nikephoros Ischyrios
- 1107/8 victory of Alexios I over Bohemund
- 1108/9 Eumathios Philokales entrusted with command of Attaleia
- 1111 Nicholas Mouzalon abdicates from metropolitan throne of Cyprus
- 1111/12 Eumathios Philokales recorded as *doux* of Cyprus once more
- 1116/17 Sabas becomes patriarch of Jerusalem
- 1118 15 August: death of Alexios I Komnenos
25 August: Eumathios Philokales attested as *sebastos*, *megas doux* and *praitor*
- 1121 12 June: first notice recording Maronite monastery at Koutsovendis

- 1141 10 July: second notice recording Maronite monastery at Koutsovendis
- 1152 Neophytos (later Recluse) at Koutsovendis under hegumen Maximos
- 1153 8 September: third notice recording Maronite monastery at Koutsovendis
- 1155/56 Renaud de Châtillon raids Cyprus, battle near Dikomo
- 1156/57 John IX Chrysostomites becomes patriarch of Jerusalem
- 1157 Neophytos becomes *parekklesiarches* at Koutsovendis
 hegumen Maximos of Koutsovendis succeeded by Euphrosynos
 death of Theoktistos of Patmos
- 1158 fleet from Egypt attacks Cyprus
- 1159 Neophytos leaves Koutsovendis for Paphos
- 1161 marriage of Manuel I Komnenos to Maria of Antioch
- 1162 Raymond of Tripoli raids Cyprus
- 1166 Nikephoros II recorded as patriarch of Jerusalem
- 1176 John (brother of Neophytos Recluse) attested as *oikonomos* of Koutsovendis
- 1177 patriarch of Jerusalem Leontios in Cyprus
- 1183 fresco decoration by Theodoros Apseudes at Enkleistra of Neophytos
- 1184 Isaac Komnenos seizes power in Cyprus
- 1187 Third Crusade proclaimed
- 1191 Saladin has church of Saint George of Lydda demolished
 Richard Lionheart captures Cyprus and sells it to Templars
 earliest mention of Buffavento castle
- 1192 rebellion against Templars, Guy de Lusignan established as Lord of Cyprus
 fresco decoration at Panagia of Arakas at Lagoudera for Leo Authentēs
- 1196 Latin Church established on Cyprus
- 1197 Amaury de Lusignan secures royal crown for Cyprus
- 1204 Crusaders capture Constantinople
- 1209 Cypriot clergy (and John of Koutsovendis?) travel to Nicaea
- 1214 John recorded as hegumen of Koutsovendis
- 1219 ? 12 April: death of Neophytos the Recluse
- 1223 earliest mention of Apsinthiotissa (hegumen Leo to Nicaea)
- 1229 outbreak of civil war (Lombard war)
- 1231 19 May: Kantara monks burned at the stake
- 1232 destruction of mills at Kythrea
 15 June: battle of Agridi
- 1238/39 fourth notice recording Maronite monastery at Koutsovendis
- 1301 September: sojourn of Ramon Lull at Koutsovendis
- 1473 15 August: pilgrims from Kyrenia to Apsinthiotissa
- 1489 Venice takes over government of Cyprus
 Queen Caterina Cornaro on pilgrimage to Apsinthiotissa
- 1522 October: Koutsovendis mentioned as dependency of Apsinthiotissa
- 1564 last mention of Maronite monastery at Koutsovendis
- 1570 Koutsovendis ransacked by invading Ottoman army, hegumen captured
 9 September: fall of Nicosia to Ottomans
- 1571 5 August: Famagusta surrenders to Ottoman army

- 1572 hegumen of Koutsovendis appointed bishop of Limassol
- 1575 bishop Germanos of Amathus attested at Constantinople
- 1589 icon of Chrysostomos dedicated at Koutsovendis
- 1600 hegumen Parthenios of Koutsovendis testifies against archbishop Athanasios
- 1629 report of Latin bishop of Paphos on monasteries
- 1683 April: Cornelis van Bruyn visits Koutsovendis
- 1735 April (?): Vasilii Barskii at Koutsovendis from Nicosia
- 1750 April: Alexander Drummond from Bellapais to Koutsovendis via Kythrea
- 1767 Giovanni Mariti visits Koutsovendis
- 1806 3–4 April: Ali Bey from Nicosia to Koutsovendis via Kythrea
- 1816 16–17 March: Otto Friedrich von Richter visits Koutsovendis from Nicosia
- 1821 10 July: hegumen of Koutsovendis executed by Ottoman authorities
- 1862 April: Franz Unger at Koutsovendis
- 1878 Britain takes over administration of Cyprus
- 1891 *katholikon* of Koutsovendis demolished and replaced by new church
- 1893 April: Mrs. Lewis at Koutsovendis
- 1896 Camille Enlart visits Koutsovendis
- 1916 George Jeffery publishes plan of demolished *katholikon*
- 1931 field trip of George Soteriou to Koutsovendis
- 1937 Koutsovendis declared Ancient Monument
- 1942 Holy Trinity ruinous apse rebuilt
- 1956–59 Holy Trinity restored by Department of Antiquities
- 1960 Cyprus gains independence from Britain
- 1963–69 frescoes of Holy Trinity cleaned and conserved by Dumbarton Oaks
- 1974 Koutsovendis ceases functioning as monastery, buildings occupied by Turkish military
- 1989 Council of Europe delegation gains access to *parekklesion*: frescoes found concealed, wooden door valves still in situ but icons missing
- 2007 Koutsovendis remains inaccessible

History

The Founder George and the Typikon

The monastery of Saint John Chrysostomos, also known as Koutsovendis, lies near the village of the same name, on the southern foothills of the Kyrenia Mountains (figs. 1, 2). The circumstances of its foundation and its early history have not been recorded in any detail in surviving medieval sources. The accounts of travelers who visited the monastery in the seventeenth and later centuries show that by that time the monastic community had lost all memory of its origins, attributing the foundation to a princess who, following the cure from a disease first of her pet dog and then of herself at a spring, resolved to build a monastery on the site.² Whatever the origin of this charming legend (see pp. 92–93), it is not confirmed by the few available pieces of relevant information. These shall be presented below in an attempt to reconstruct the community's early history. As we shall see, Koutsovendis was founded in the late eleventh century by a certain monk George, and its main church, the no-longer-surviving *katholikon*, was consecrated in 1090.

The period preceding the foundation of Koutsovendis remains among the least known in the medieval history of Cyprus. After its reconquest by Nikephoros II Phokas in 965, the island sinks into almost total obscurity.³ It is mentioned in 1042/3 in connection with the revolt of Theophilos Erotikos that was caused by high taxation, and, as we shall see below, reappears again in history only toward the end of the century.⁴ There is, however, one event of cardinal importance that should be considered in any assessment of conditions on Cyprus during this period, namely the fall of Antioch to the Seljuks in late 1084. The subsequent enhanced importance of the island in the eyes of the imperial government in Constantinople may well

2 C. Mango, "The Monastery of St. Chrysostomos at Koutsovendis (Cyprus) and Its Wall Paintings, Part I: Description," *DOP* 44 (1990): 64–67. For other similar accounts of the foundation see, for example, John Carne's (1821) in D. W. Martin, *English Texts: Frankish and Turkish Periods* (New York, 1998), 196, and F. von Löher, *Cypern: Reiseberichte über Natur und Landschaft, Volk und Geschichte* (Stuttgart, 1878), 81–85. In 1908 it was reported that water from a nearby spring was chemically analyzed and found to have medicinal qualities, allegedly beneficial to those suffering from skin diseases (I. Peristianes, *Γενική Ιστορία της νήσου Κύπρου από τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τῆς ἀγγλικῆς κατοχῆς* [Nicosia, 1910],

148). A similar tradition (dog cured at spring) is reported at other shrines on the island (J. Hackett and C. Papaioannou, *Ιστορία τῆς Ὁρθόδοξου Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κύπρου* [Athens, 1923–32], 2: 148–49).

3 T. Papacostas, "A Tenth-century Inscription from Syngراسis, Cyprus," *BMGS* 26 (2002): 42–45.

4 J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)* (Paris, 1991), 56. On Cyprus in the middle Byzantine period, see G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1940), 1: 295–321; C. Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint: The Life, Times, and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse* (Cambridge, 1991), 40–67; C. Mango, "Chypre, carrefour du monde byzantin," in

Actes du XVe Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines, Rapports et co-rapports V.5 (Athens, 1976): 3–13; J.-C. Cheynet, "Chypre à la veille de la conquête franque," in *Actes du colloque Les Lusignans et l'outre-mer, Poitiers-Lusignan 20–24 octobre 1993: Auditorium du Musée Sainte-Croix Poitiers* (Poitiers, 1995), 67–77; A. Guillou, "La géographie historique de l'île de Chypre pendant la période byzantine (IVe–XIIe s.)," in *Matériaux pour une histoire de Chypre (IVe–XXe s.), Etudes Balkaniques, Cahiers Pierre Belon* 5 (Paris, 1998), 11–32; and T. Papacostas, "Byzantine Cyprus: The Testimony of Its Churches, 650–1200" (D. Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1999).

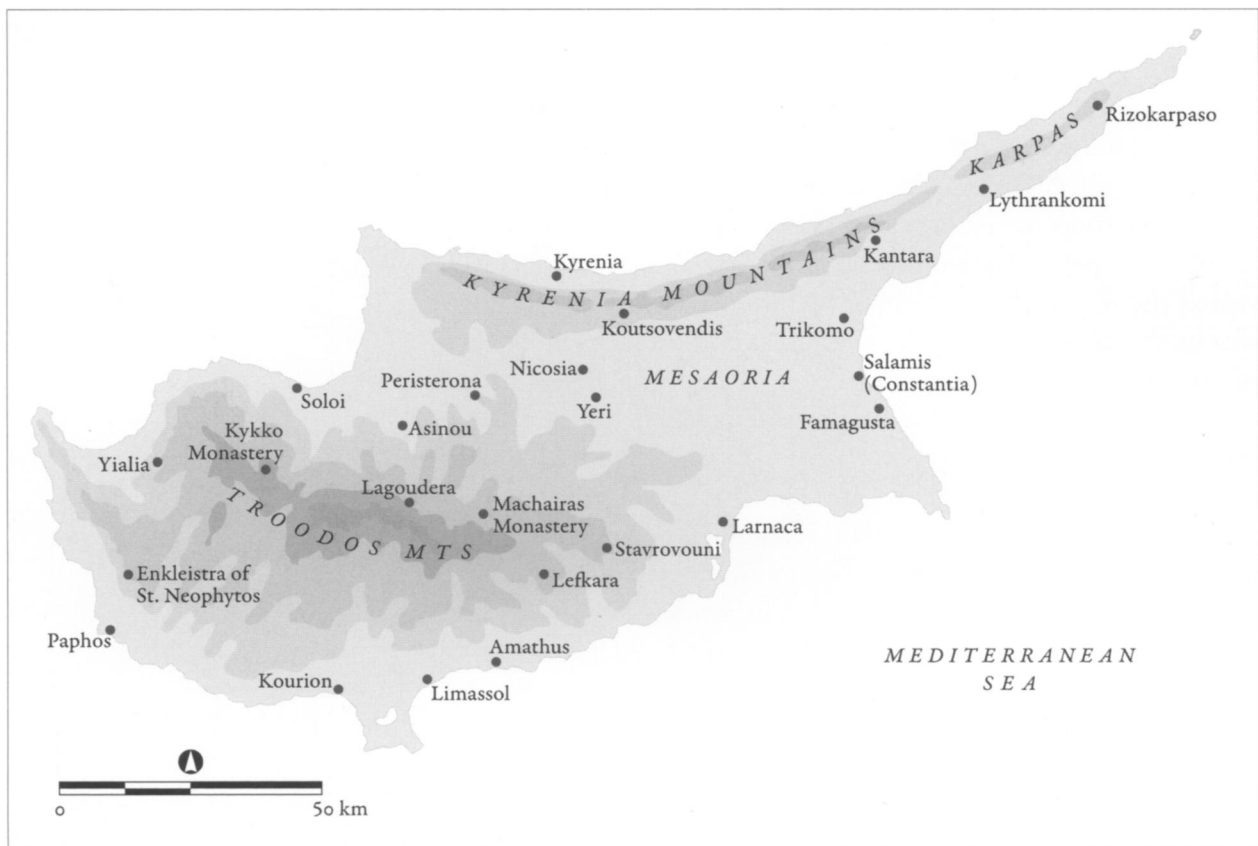


Fig. 1 Map of medieval Cyprus
(based on ODB 1: 568)

be connected with the loss of its Syrian outpost, and it is not at all improbable that the collapse of Byzantine rule in northern Syria was accompanied by some emigration of Orthodox elements from there to Cyprus.⁵ As we shall see shortly, the community that founded our monastery had probably been affected by these events.

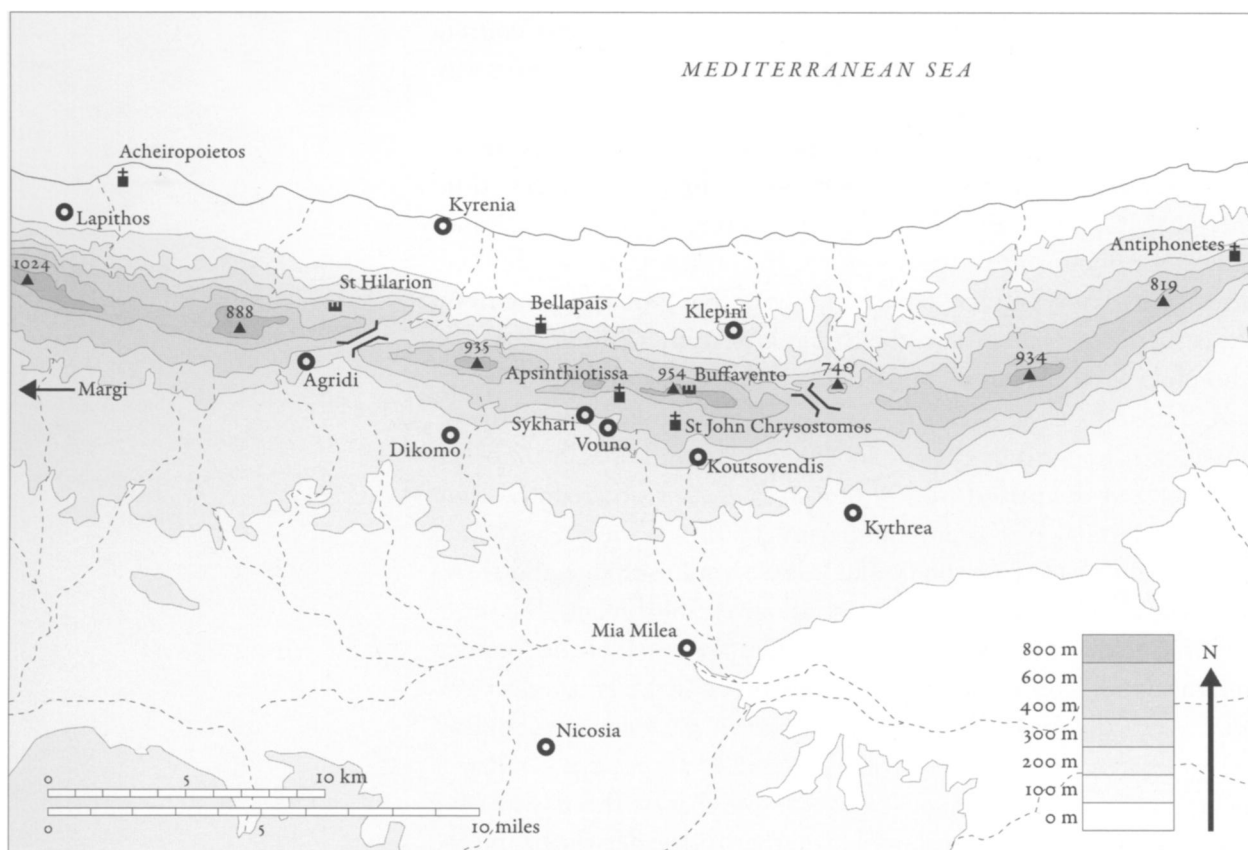
The time of the foundation of Koutsovendis coincides with another major rebellion on Cyprus: in the beginning of 1091 (February/March) the island is reported to have been in the hands of Rhapsomates, although it is not known how much earlier the rebel gained control.⁶ Yet, in the same troubled period, at least one other monastic community was also founded on the island: the Theotokos Alypos at Yeri, on the outskirts of Nicosia, was established in or shortly before October 1091 when its *ktetor*, the otherwise unattested *magistros* Epiphánios Paschales, donated an uncial gospel lectionary

⁵ A similar movement from Asia Minor may have also taken place in the same period: T. Papacostas, "Architecture et communautés étrangères à Chypre aux XI^{ème} et XII^{ème} siècles," in *Identités croisées en un milieu méditerranéen: Le cas de Chypre: Antiquité–Moyen Age. Colloque international*,

Rouen, mars 2004, ed. S. Fourrier and G. Grivaud (Mont-Saint-Aignan, 2006), 223–40.

⁶ The date is based on the mention of the rebellion by John Oxiteis who was still at Constantinople, before his departure for Antioch via Cyprus (P. Gautier, "Diatribes

de Jean l'Oxite contre Alexis I^{er} Comnène," *REB* 28 [1970]: 35; Gautier, "Défection et soumission de la Crète sous Alexis I^{er} Comnène," *REB* 35 [1977]: 220–22, and J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance, 963–1210* [Paris, 1991], 97–98).



to his foundation.⁷ The monastery of the Panagia Apsinthiotissa, only a short distance to the west of Koutsovendis, although not recorded until the early thirteenth century, was also probably set up at around the same time; as we shall see later on, the architecture of its church is related to that of our katholikon, and its frescoes also point to a late-eleventh or early-twelfth-century date.⁸ The well-known monastery of Kykko was founded during this period too, an era that witnessed a wave of new monastic establishments lasting through the end of the twelfth century and fueling a parallel and unprecedented growth in building activity on the island.⁹ This development is of course not peculiar to Cyprus, for the rest of the empire experienced it in the course of the eleventh century, too. As J. Darrouzès noticed, however,

Fig. 2 Map of the region of Koutsovendis (T. Papacostas, based on the *Administration and Road Map of Cyprus 1:250,000*, Department of Lands and Surveys 1996)

7 “Τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς Ἀλύπου τῆς οὕτω ἐπονομαζομένης τοῦ Γερίου” (K. Chatzeioannou, “Ἡ βιβλιοθήκη τοῦ Carpentras καὶ τὸ χειρόγραφο no. 10,” in *Τὰ ἐν διασπορᾷ Β΄ τῆς δεκαετίας 1969–1979: Τόμος τιμητικὸς στὰ ἐβδομηνταχρόνα τοῦ συγγραφέα* [Nicosia, 1979], 74). See also J. Darrouzès, “Notes pour servir à l’histoire de Chypre [deuxième article],” *Κυπρ. Σπ.* 20 (1956): 44, and Darrouzès, “Autres manu-

scrits originaux de Chypre,” *REB* 15 (1957): 141–42.

8 Papacostas, “Byzantine Cyprus,” 1: 113–14 (above, n. 4); for the church and refectory, see A. Papageorgiou, “Ἡ μονὴ Ἀψινθιωτίσσης,” *Reports of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (1963): 73–83.

9 The precise date of Kykko’s foundation has not been recorded; for some preliminary thoughts see T. Papacostas, “Secular

Landholdings and Venetians in 12th-Century Cyprus,” *BZ* 92 (1999): 481–82; see also n. 148 below. Some forty monasteries are thought to have been active at some point in the course of this period on the island, perhaps as many as thirty being new foundations (Papacostas, “Byzantine Cyprus,” 1: 105–6).

by the time Koutsovendis was founded most activity was concentrated in the central and western Byzantine regions.¹⁰ Yet Cyprus was clearly part of this movement.

The evidence Koutsovendis provides is central to our understanding of at least some of the causes of these developments, both within the local (Cypriot) and the wider (Byzantine) context. The most important document in this respect is the monastery's unpublished liturgical *typikon*, preserved in a manuscript that probably dates from the early thirteenth century: the Par. gr. 402 (olim Colbert. 6040) is a bombycine of 279 folios, mutilated both at the beginning and at the end.¹¹ The opening and closing chapters of the *typikon* are therefore missing. Although only a calendar of fixed feasts, followed by the order for Lent and the period from Easter to Pentecost (interrupted after the sixth Sunday of Easter—Sunday of the Blind—on f. 279v), and not a founder's charter, the *typikon* does contain unique and therefore crucial evidence for the history of our establishment. The most important occurs in two places; it provides the name of the founder and the date of consecration. Under 26 April we read: Ἰστέον ὅτι κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπιτελοῦμεν τὰ μνημόσυνα τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ καθηγητῇ [*sic*] ἡγουμένου Γεωργίου, τοῦ κτήτορος τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ ἁγίας μονῆς τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου (f. 146r). [Note that on this day we celebrate the commemoration of our holy father and leader, the hegumen George, founder of the holy monastery of Chrysostomos in Cyprus.] And farther along, under 9 December: Ἡ σύλληψις τῆς ἁγίας καὶ θεομήτορος Ἀννης καὶ τὰ ἐγκαίνια τοῦ θείου ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τοῦ ἰδρυθέντος [*sic*] ἐν Κύπρῳ κατὰ τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Κουτζουβίντι ἐν ἔτει ,ςφρθ', οὗ τῷ ἐνθωθρονιασμῷ [*sic*] κατετέθησαν λείψανα τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Προκοπίου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Ἰακώβου τοῦ Πέρσου καὶ τῆς ἁγίας μάρτυρος Μαρίας (f. 56r–v) [The conception of Saint Anne, the maternal ancestor of God, and the *enkainia* of the holy church of our saintly Father John Chrysostomos, which was founded in Cyprus at the mountain of Koutzouvindis in the year 6599 (1090), at whose consecration were deposited relics of the holy martyr Prokopios, of the holy martyr James the Persian, and of the holy martyr Marina.]¹² The *typikon* contains no further information about the *ktetor*. George is, however, mentioned in the correspondence of Nikon of the Black Mountain.¹³

10 J. Darrouzès, "Le mouvement des fondations monastiques au XI^e siècle," *TM* 6 (1976): 159–76, and, for the concomitant building activity, C. Mango, "Les monuments de l'architecture du XI^e siècle et leur signification historique et sociale," *TM* 6 (1976): 352–55.

11 Extracts were published by A. Dmitrievskii in *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei, khraniashchikhsia v bibliotekach pravoslavnago vostoka* (Petrograd, 1917), 3:121–27. The lack of marginal notes, normally so common in manuscripts from Cyprus, may suggest that it was little used.

12 For both extracts, see *ibid.*, 3: 121–23.

13 This was first noted by B. Englezakis, in *Εἵκοσι μελέται διὰ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν Κύπρου (4ος ἕως 20ος αἰών)* (Athens, 1996), 28–30.

Nikon of the Black Mountain and His Circle

The late-eleventh- or twelfth-century Sinait. gr. 436 (441) preserves the only complete text of the *Taktikon* by Nikon (ca. 1025–1100/10), a collection of various writings including thirty-six (mostly unpublished) letters addressed largely to monks and dealing with ecclesiastical matters and liturgical practice.¹⁴ These provide vital information on the milieu from which George issued. In the table of contents (f. 4v), the title of letter no. 9 appears as Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν κύριον Γεώργιον τὸν ἡγούμενον τοῦ Κουτζουβέντι [from the same to *kȳr* Georgios, hegumen of (the monastery of) Koutzoubenti].¹⁵ The same heading opens the actual letter (f. 82v–85r; see Appendix). Before discussion of its contents, and in order to place this letter in its proper context, a brief excursus on the career of Nikon is necessary.

Although hailing from the region of Constantinople, Nikon started his monastic life on the Black Mountain near Antioch perhaps in the late 1040s, at the monastery of the Theotokos, where he was tonsured by its founder Luke, a former bishop of Anazarbos. Nikon undertook to reorganize Luke's problematic monastery and after the founder's death (late 1050s?) succeeded him at its helm. Unable to cope with an increasingly difficult situation, however, he left to settle at the monastery of Saint Symeon the Younger Stylite on the nearby Wondrous Mountain. He was followed by other monks from the Theotokos, whose community was subsequently dissolved. Nikon was soon entrusted with the supervision of efforts to resolve the problems plaguing the monasteries under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Antioch. But facing resistance and open hostility again, he fled once more, after the Seljuk conquest of Antioch (December 1084), although Saint Symeon itself was not directly affected.¹⁶ It is during this period that Nikon spent some time at the monastery of the Savior in Laodicea before traveling farther south, to Palestine and Saint Sabas (Mar Saba).¹⁷ Sometime after 1084 he settled at the Theotokos tou Roidiou on the Black Mountain,¹⁸ where he could at last devote most of his time to his writings while also

¹⁴ On the date of the manuscript, see T. Yiangou, *Νίκων ὁ Μαυροπελτης: Βίος, συγγραφικὸ ἔργο, κανονικὴ διδασκαλία*, Ἀριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἑπετηρίδα Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς, τμήμα ποιμαντικῆς, παράρτημα ἀρ. 2 (Thessaloniki, 1991), 95–96. A (13th-c.?) translation of Nikon's writings, including the letters, is contained in the Vaticanus Arabicus 76 (A. Mai, *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio e vaticanis codicibus*, 10 vols. [Rome, 1831], 4:155–70). An edition of the *Taktikon* is

being prepared by a team at the University of Würzburg under Christian Hannick.

¹⁵ U. Porfirii, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Graecorum qui in monasterio Sanctae Catharinae in Monte Sina asservantur*, ed. V. Benešević (Saint Petersburg, 1911), 1: 239.

¹⁶ Saint Symeon continued to function and was not captured and looted until later, perhaps in the early 1090s, although it was soon restored (Yiangou, *Νίκων*, 109 n. 130, 137.

¹⁷ Sinait. gr. 436 (441), f. 72v–73r; Yiangou, *Νίκων*, 72.

¹⁸ R. Allison, "Roidion: Typikon of Nikon of the Black Mountain for the Monastery and Hospice of the Mother of God tou Roidiou," in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, ed. J. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero (Washington, D.C., 2000), 1: 425–26.

serving the patriarchate under John Oxeites (1089–1100). After the latter's departure from Antioch in 1100, we hear no more of Nikon, who presumably died soon thereafter.¹⁹

Nikon was prompted to write to George after the latter requested from the monk Klemes information about the reliability of Nikon's works and some clarifications concerning the fast of the Theotokos (preceding the feast of the Dormition), an issue with which Nikon was greatly concerned throughout his monastic career.²⁰ In his letter Nikon urges his correspondent to read carefully what he repeatedly refers to as his "paltry books," presumably his *Hermeneiai* (also known as the *Pandektai* in some manuscripts and in modern literature), available to George in books that Klemes, now with Nikon in Syria, appears to have left at (or possibly sent to) Koutsovendis. He explains at length how he compiled his works and what his guiding principles were, and also advises George to read the relevant letter (about fasting) which he had sent him for forwarding to a certain *abba* Gerasimos (f. 84r: Appendix lines 76–78). He then reassures George of his willingness to answer any future queries, and requests from him and from his own (Nikon's) fathers and brothers who are with George (on Cyprus) to pray for him (f. 84v: Appendix lines 90–93). This letter shows beyond any doubt that George was in touch on a regular basis with Nikon, whom he knew personally, as well as with other members of the latter's entourage, and that Nikon also knew other members of the Koutsovendis community. Nevertheless it remains unclear why George chose to contact Klemes instead of writing directly to Nikon about his reservations. The reference to Gerasimos suggests strongly that this monk, whom Nikon must have first met while at Luke's monastery where the former had also been tonsured (f. 152v), was also on Cyprus. It is important here to investigate the manuscript evidence concerning this Gerasimos, for it illustrates most effectively the links that the monastic world maintained across the sea between Cyprus and the Syrian mainland, providing the backdrop for George's activities.

Gerasimos is in fact the addressee of no fewer than four letters from Nikon, included in the *Taktikon*. Two of these discuss fasting,

19 For earlier bibliography and a reconstruction of Nikon's biography, see Yiangou, *Nikwv*, 41–54, and R. Allison, "Black Mountain: Regulations of Nikon of the Black Mountain," in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 1: 377–78. On the date of death of Nikon, see also W. J. Aerts, "Nikon of the Black Mountain, Witness to the First Crusade? Some Remarks on

His Person, His Use of Language and His Work, Named *Taktikoni*, esp. Logos 31," in *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean I. Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the End of the Crusader Principality. Acta of the Congress Held at Hernen Castle in May 2003*, ed. K. Ciggaar and M. Metcalf (Leuven, 2006), 126.

20 Yiangou, *Nikwv*, 254–64.

while the remaining two deal with the Iberians and the Tzatoi (Chalcedonian Armenians),²¹ and were probably written between 1084 and 1092, although the letter on the Dormition fast (f. 149v–158v) may be somewhat later. It is only in the latter, however, that we hear of Gerasimos's whereabouts, clearly in Palestine, at Jerusalem and in the monasteries of the Judean desert, rather than on Cyprus: καὶ ἐὰν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα εἶσαι εἰς τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάβα τὴν λαύρα εἴτε εἰς τοῦ ἁγίου Εὐθυμίου εἴτε εἰς τοῦ ἁγίου Χαρίτωνος . . . [and whether you are in Jerusalem at the laura of our father among the saints Sabas, or at (the laura of) Saint Euthymios, or at (the laura of) Saint Chariton . . .] (f. 157r).²² There is perhaps additional evidence of Gerasimos's presence in Palestine. A Sinai *Triodion* now divided in two parts (Sinai 741 and 742) bears a colophon according to which it was copied at the laura of Saint Sabas near Jerusalem for John, monk and priest at the church of Saint George in Ascalon, by the monk Gerasimos Antiocheites, who finished the manuscript in January 1099. It is very likely that the scribe is the same person as Nikon's correspondent who had presumably left northern Syria after the Seljuk conquest, as Theodore Yiangou suggested.²³ A roughly contemporary manuscript (Jer. Saba 259) was also copied by a monk and presbyter called Gerasimos in 1089/90, but this time almost certainly on Cyprus, since its donor was the *kouboukleisios* Basil from the village of Babla, in the southern foothills of the Troodos Mountains.²⁴ Until recently the identity of the two homonymous scribes was accepted; the latter manuscript would therefore confirm the presence of Gerasimos on Cyprus. More recent studies, however, have cast doubt over the proposed identification.²⁵ There is, nevertheless, yet another witness that may provide evidence for the presence of Nikon's correspondent on the island.

In the poetic colophon of the late-eleventh-century Athos Lavra Γ17 its author, the monk Euthymios, asks Isaac of Antioch, whose works the manuscript contains, to be the spiritual guide and teacher of the volume's sponsor Gerasimos, a monk at the monastery of Koutsovendis: γεράσιμον κάλλιστον ἐν μονοτρόποις: τῆς κυπρίων καύχημα, τ(ῶν) ἄζυγιων: τὸν ἀγχίθυρτζοντα, μονῆς κουντζούβε:

21 Sinait. gr. 436 (441), f. 70v–73v, 149v–158v, 232v–240r. The latter two were published in Benešević, *Catalogus*, 1: 586–601; Yiangou, *Níxων*, 141–45.

22 Yiangou, *Níxων*, 95 n. 111.

23 D. Harlfinger, D. R. Reinsch, and J. A. M. Sonderkamp, *Specimina Sinaitica: Die datierten griechischen Handschriften*

des Katharinen-Klosters auf dem Berge Sinai, 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert (Berlin, 1983), 37; Yiangou, *Níxων*, 95.

24 C. Constantinides and R. Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts from Cyprus to the Year 1570* (Washington, D.C.–Nicosia, 1993), 63–68 no. 4.

25 First suggested by A. Ehrhard in "Das griechische Kloster Mar-Saba in Palaestina, seine Geschichte und seine litterarischen Denkmäler," *RQ* 7 (1893): 64, accepted by M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen in *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1909), 65, and rejected in Harlfinger, *Specimina Sinaitica*, 38.

ἐμπλησον αὐτὸν, τοὺς σοὺς μαργάρ(ους) λόγ(ους), διδάξον αὐτὸν, τ(ὴν) ἄσκησιν αἰσίως: . . .²⁶ [fill Gerasimos, the best among solitaries, the pride of Cyprus and of the unwedded, the neighbor of the monastery of Kountzoube, with your pearls of wisdom, teach him self-discipline properly]. There is of course no way to ascertain that this Gerasimos and Nikon's correspondent are one and the same person. What is more, if the vague reference to the "pride of Cyprus" is an allusion to the origin of this Gerasimos from the island, then we should perhaps reject the identification, for Nikon in one of his letters mentions en passant that he and Gerasimos grew up together (ἐκ παιδὸθεν συνανετράφοις μοι), presumably in the region of Constantinople.²⁷ But these two pieces of information of course need not be mutually exclusive. And considering the dating of both the Lavra manuscript and Nikon's letter to George, and their links with Koutsovendis, it does still seem likely—although far from certain—that we are dealing with only one person here. Gerasimos then may have spent some time on Cyprus before moving to Palestine by early 1099, or he may have indeed moved several times between the island and the mainland.

Nikon's letters constitute our most important source of information for communications between Cyprus and the region of Antioch, and the degree to which these were developed during this period, at least within the ecclesiastical sphere.²⁸ This close relationship was of course due to their geographical proximity and to the island's role as a station along the sea route from Constantinople and the Aegean to both the Holy Land and Syria. John Oxeites, who had heard of Rhapsomates' rebellion on Cyprus while still at Constantinople,²⁹ himself spent some time on the island on his way from the capital to his see in late 1091 or early 1092. This we know again from one of Nikon's letters, which mentions yet another monk from Antioch

²⁶ Diplomatic rendering based on the text published by C. Constantinides in "Poetic Colophons in Medieval Cypriot Manuscripts," in *"The Sweet Land of Cyprus": Papers Given at the Twenty-fifth Jubilee Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1991*, ed. A. A. M. Bryer and G. S. Georghallides (Nicosia, 1993), 322–23.

²⁷ Sinait. gr. 436 (441), f. 234r.

²⁸ Leontios Machairas, writing in the 15th c., reports a tradition according to which the island maintained close links with the patriarchate of Antioch before the change of rule at the end of the 12th c.

(M. Pieris and A. Nicolaou-Konnari, *Λεοντίου Μαχαιρά Χρονικό της Κύπρου: Παράλληλη διπλωματική έκδοση των χειρογράφων* [Nicosia, 2003], 148. R. M. Dawkins, trans. and ed., *Leontios Makhairas: Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus Entitled "Chronicle"* [Oxford, 1932], 1: 142). Note that a member of the powerful Brachamios family of Antioch, the *kouropalates* Elpidios (known exclusively from sigillographic evidence), was serving the imperial administration as *doux* of Cyprus in the later 11th c. (J.-C. Cheynet and J.-F. Vannier, *Études prosopographiques* [Paris, 1986], 63; D. M. Metcalf, *Byzantine*

Lead Seals from Cyprus [Nicosia, 2004], 224, no. 148; and A.-K. Wassiliou and W. Seibt, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich* [Vienna, 2004], 247–48 no. 254). About one century later Neophytos the Recluse was also in touch with events at Antioch (H. Delehay, "Saints de Chypre," *AB* 26 [1907]: 211–12, 281–82; N. Papatriantaphyllou-Theodorides and T. Yiangou in *Αγίου Νεοφύτου του Εγκλείστου Συγγράμματα*, 5 vols. [Paphos, 1996–2005], 3:42 and 333).
²⁹ The patriarch's *logos*, which refers to the troubles facing the empire, including the Cyprus revolt, is dated to February/March 1091: Gautier, "Diatribes," 35 (above, n. 6).

who had been to Cyprus and met up with the newly elected patriarch there to brief him on the situation of the Antiochene church (f. 180v). The story of a woman practising magic on Cyprus was likewise related to Nikon by a presbyter who had also made the journey to the island (f. 204r).³⁰

Moreover, Nikon informs us that the name of Antioch's new patriarch was proclaimed not only at the monastery of Hodegon in Constantinople, a *metochion* of the patriarchate, but also in Laodicea and Cyprus. Although there is no record of a patriarchal metochion on the island, it is reasonable to assume that one may have existed:³¹ the Holy Sepulcher is known to have owned a dependency and extensive properties on Cyprus during the twelfth century, while the monasteries of both Saint Theodosios of Judea and Saint Catherine on Sinai also possessed estates on the island during the same period.³²

Nikon belonged to a circle of monks and clergymen active in Antioch and its region that included the well-known Georgians Giorgi Mr'ac'mindeli and Ep'rem Mcire (the latter a correspondent of Nikon), and of course the patriarch John Oxeites.³³ George, although clearly not as learned in matters ecclesiastical as some of these men, probably came from the same milieu, as did Gerasimos. At which monastery on the mainland George may have initially been a monk, however, we are not told. That of Saint Symeon on the Wondrous Mountain is a strong candidate, for, as we learn from the Koutsovendis typikon (May 24), the community that George subsequently set up on Cyprus was placed under the protection and "great support" of Symeon (προστάτην καὶ μέγαν ἀντιλήμπτωραν [*sic*]: f. 153v). Another strong indication to the same effect is that when a parekklesion was added to the katholikon at George's new monastery it was dedicated to the

30 Yiangou, *Níxων*, 139, 188 n. 4, 276 (above, n. 14).

31 Ibid., 197; the seal of Patriarch Nikephoros Mauros (ca. 1079/80–1089?), found near Dekelia on the south-east coast of Cyprus, may indicate the existence of patriarchal estates with which Mauros, who spent his reign at Constantinople, was presumably in touch (Metcalf, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, 385 no. 486); in later centuries both Ignatios II (1341–1366) and Michael II (1395–1412) of Antioch found refuge on the island, although again there is no specific information on a metochion (C. A. Papadopoulos, *Ιστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἀντιοχείας* [Alexandria, 1951], 962–68, 976–77).

32 Barnabas, the oikonomos of the Holy Sepulcher's Cypriot possessions, is recorded in a colophon dated to ca. 1150–80

(Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 87 no. 10 [above, n. 24]; on p. 90 it is suggested that the manuscript may have originated from Koutsovendis, citing E. Lappa-Zizeka and M. Rizou-Kouroupou, *Κατάλογος ἑλληνικῶν χειρογράφων τοῦ Μουσείου Μπενάκη (10ος–16ος αἰ.)* [Athens, 1991], 56; in the latter there is no evidence for such a claim, which is perhaps based on the monastery's much later status as a dependency of the Holy Sepulcher). The patriarchate's properties are mentioned in *The Life of Leontios Patriarch of Jerusalem*, text, translation, and commentary by D. Tsougarakis (Leiden, 1993), 116–22. For Saint Theodosios of Judea and Sinai, see J. Richard, "Un monastère grec de Palestine et son domaine chypriote: Le monachisme orthodoxe et l'établissement de la domina-

tion franque," in *Πρακτικά τοῦ Δευτέρου Διεθνοῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου, 20–25 Ἀπριλίου 1982* (Nicosia, 1986), 2: 61–75, and J. Pahlitzsch, *Graeci und Suriani im Palästina der Kreuzfahrerzeit: Beiträge und Quellen zur Geschichte des griechisch-orthodoxen Patriarchats von Jerusalem* (Berlin, 2001), 174.

33 Yiangou, *Níxων*, 105 (above, n. 14); W. Z. Djobadze, *Materials for the Study of Georgian Monasteries in the Western Environs of Antioch on the Orontes* (Louvain, 1976), 73; E. Khintibidze, *Georgian-Byzantine Literary Contacts* (Amsterdam, 1996), 64.

Holy Trinity, not the most common of dedications but encountered at the main church of the monastery on the Wondrous Mountain too, built during Symeon's lifetime in the mid-sixth century.³⁴ This dedication, as we shall see later, has certain implications as far as the date of the parekklesion and the possible relationship between its patron Eumathios Philokales and George are concerned.

The same document may contain one further possible indication of the community's and therefore of George's links with Antioch. A reference to stipulations in the typika of the Bithynian Olympus concerning the procedure to follow when the feast of the Annunciation falls during Easter week (ἐτέρα ἐρμηνεία περὶ τῆς ἐορτῆς τοῦ Εὐαγγελισμοῦ· εὐρέθη δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Ὀλυμπόν τυπικοῖς γινομένη [another interpretation concerning the feast of the Annunciation; it was found among the typika of (Mount) Olympus]: f. 140v) is perhaps related to monastic usage introduced to Antioch by Patriarch Theodosios III Chrysoberges (1057–59) from his (unnamed) former monastery in Bithynia. Although conclusive evidence is lacking, Nikon in one of his letters to Gerasimos does mention that one such novelty (concerning the August fast) was indeed brought by the patriarch from Olympus.³⁵ Another piece of evidence, however, may cast doubt over the above interpretation: a very similar but not identical stipulation concerning the same feast, “according to the typika of Olympus,” also appears in the twelfth-century *synaxarion* of Evergetis.³⁶ The occurrence of this particular rubric in the two calendars (of Evergetis and Koutsovendis) requires some explanation, which only a detailed study of the two documents and their sources will perhaps provide.³⁷

George in Palestine

Unfortunately Nikon's writings contain no evidence on when and in what circumstances George left northern Syria. His departure may be linked to the dissolution of Luke's Theotokos, or to the volatile

34 Englezakis, *Εἰκοσι Μελέται*, 29 (above, n. 13); P. van den Ven, *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune (521–592)* (Brussels, 1962–70), 1: 88; see also J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Itinéraires archéologiques dans la région d'Antioche: Recherches sur le monastère et sur l'iconographie de S. Syméon le Jeune* (Brussels, 1967), 108–10, and W. Z. Djobadze, *Archaeological Investigations in the Region West of Antioch-on-the-Orontes* (Stuttgart, 1986), 75–79. On other 11th-c. shrines dedicated to the Holy Trinity (in Athens and on Chalke) see R. Janin, *Les*

églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins: Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galésios, Trébizonde, Athènes, Thessalonique (Paris, 1975), 73, 336.

35 Sinait. gr. 436 (442), f. 151v, and Yiangou, *Νίξων*, 50. On the fast see *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents* 5: 1711–12 (above, n. 18).

36 Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie*, 1: 443–44 (above, n. 11).

37 P. Gautier mentions only en passant that some lost typika from Mount Olympus were used as sources for the Evergetis text:

“Le typikon de la Théotokos Évergétis,” *REB* 40 (1982): 8. Bithynian monastic usage was clearly widespread in this period, as a reference to the τῶν Ὀλυμπιτῶν ὠρολόγιον (*horologion* of the monks of Olympus), which Kyrillos Phileotes used to recite while still a layman (mid–11th c.), attests (E. Sargologos, *La vie de Saint Cyrille le Philéote, moine byzantin [+1110]* [Brussels, 1964], 119).

situation that resulted from the Seljuk advance into Anatolia and northern Syria after 1071. During this period Antioch was ruled by Philaretos Brachamios, before falling to the Turks in December 1084 after years of internal unrest. The impact of these events on the region's monastic and lay communities is relatively well documented.³⁸ For example, it has been suggested that the family of Admiral George of Antioch, patron of the Martorana in Palermo (1143–51), may have fled their native city at that time. The Georgian monastic communities of the region of Antioch were badly affected too.³⁹ We saw above that Nikon himself had to leave Saint Symeon after the conquest of Antioch, while Gerasimos seems to have abandoned the region altogether. Much more detailed information is contained in the fascinating and little-known prologue to an Arabic vita of Saint John of Damascus copied by Michael, a monk at Saint Symeon and another member of Nikon's circle. This text provides valuable and concrete evidence on the havoc wrought by the Seljuk advance: After the capture of the city on 3 December 1084, many of its inhabitants sought refuge in the citadel. Michael, who happened to be in the city at the time, hid in an abandoned house. During the night he made his way up to the citadel to join the other fugitives, but when he reached the gate the next morning a band of Turks appeared and captured him together with many other prisoners. After a frightening march down the mountain, the captives were led into a meadow where they were unexpectedly left to go free. So impressed and grateful was Michael by his swift release that one year later, as a thanksgiving for deliverance from his ordeal, he decided to copy the life of John of Damascus whose feastday coincided with the end of his brief but traumatic adventure.⁴⁰

The events outlined above provide a plausible framework for George's departure from Antioch. Several references in the Koutsovendis typikon, however, suggest that he did not immediately head for Cyprus. Like Nikon, and perhaps at the same time as he, George traveled to Palestine. In fact, on several occasions, the typikon insists on adherence to Palestinian custom, referring to monasteries of the Judean desert such as Saint Sabas and Saint Euthymios (f. 195r, 212r–v, 213v, 251v).

38 A. E. Dostourian, ed. and trans., *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* (Belmont, Mass., 1993), 125.

39 B. Lavagnini, "L'epigramma e il committente," *DOP* 41 (1987): 343–44; Djobadze, *Materials*, 80 (above, n. 33).

40 G. Graf, "Das arabische Original der Vita des hl. Johannes von Damaskus," *Der Katholik: Zeitschrift für katholische*

Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben 93 (4), 12 (1913): 166–70; see also Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* 5 vols. (Vatican, 1947), 2: 69–70, and B. Hemmerdinger, "La vita arabe de Saint Jean Damascène et BHG 884," *OCP* 28 (1962): 422–23.

Even more important, in one instance it implies that the monks of Koutsovendis had been physically present in Palestine, and on the feast of Saint Euthymios they would visit this saint's monastery (20 January: f. 101r): συναγώμεθα εἰς μονήν τοῦ ἁγίου ὄντες ἐν Παλαιστίνῃν [*sic*], κακεῖ ποιῶμεν τὴν ἀγρυπνίαν [when we are in Palestine, we gather at the saint's monastery and conduct the vigil there]. It thus seems almost certain that the community of Koutsovendis was first constituted in Palestine by refugees from the region of Antioch before they settled on Cyprus, where they maintained contacts with the mainland.

Such peripatetic communities, forced by the circumstances to move out of their initial retreat, are not unknown in this period; that of Christodoulos of Patmos is a case in point: fleeing warfare in Palestine (ca. 1070?), Christodoulos settled on Mount Latros, where he spent several years. He was nevertheless forced to abandon Latros, too, as a result of Turkish raids and sought refuge together with some of his monks at Strobilos on the coast. After only a few months at the monastery of a local man called Arsenios Skenourios, and fearing the advancing Turkish threat, he moved yet again with his monks to the nearby island of Kos (1080), on a property offered by Skenourios himself. Finally, in 1088, Christodoulos exchanged his monastic estates on Kos for the deserted island of Patmos, where he founded the monastery dedicated to John the Theologian that was to flourish in the following century.⁴¹ Thus, in a trajectory contemporary with and strongly reminiscent of George's peregrinations, Christodoulos fled trouble on the continent and found refuge on a nearby island.

In the context of George's Palestinian sojourn, it is interesting to note that, according to the typikon, the katholikon at Koutsovendis was dedicated to John Chrysostomos. This is somewhat curious, for the cult of Chrysostomos, despite the enormous success of his writings, never became particularly popular.⁴² Although he was buried in the church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople, only a couple of obscure shrines in the capital were dedicated to him, while none seems to be recorded in its environs (except for a dubious case in Hieria).⁴³

41 MM 6: 60–65, and P. Karlin-Hayter, "Christodoulos: Rule, Testament and Codicil of Christodoulos for the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos," in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents* 2: 564–65, 580–82 (above, n. 18).

42 Among the lead seals of this period, only a few dozen bear depictions of Chrysostomos, the majority of course belonging to (largely lay) individuals called John; seals with the Baptist (Prodromos) on the other hand are almost thrice as

numerous (information taken from the electronic database of the *Prosopography of the Byzantine World*, King's College London [<http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk>]).

43 R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, vol. 1, *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, 2nd ed., part 3, *Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1969), 271–72. A church dedicated to Chrysostomos (at Constantinople?) is mentioned in the *Life of Lazaros of Galesion*, AASS Nov. 3 (Brussels, 1910), 538, and

Gregory the Cellarer, *The Life of Lazaros of Mt. Galesion*, ed. and trans. R. P. H. Greenfield (Washington, D.C., 2000), 186 n. 426; a monastery in the capital with the same dedication is also recorded in the same period in the *Life of Meletios of Myoupolis*: V. Vasil'evskii, "Νικολάου Μεθώνης Βλὸς Μελετίου τοῦ νέου," *PPSb* 6 (1886): 4. No Chrysostomos shrines (apart from the one at Hieria) are recorded in the areas covered by R. Janin in his *Grands Centres*, 36 (above, n. 34).

On Cyprus itself a church of “S. Joannis Chrysostomi prope palatium regis Cypri” in Nicosia is recorded only in the fifteenth century.⁴⁴ In the region of Antioch, which was his birthplace after all, he was the titular saint of a cave, recorded by Nikon as the dwelling place of his spiritual father Luke during the latter’s early days, and of a church built in the later tenth century by archbishop Theodoulos of Seleucia over what was thought to be Chrysostomos’s house.⁴⁵ George’s links with the Syrian metropolis presumably played a key role in his choice of dedication. As we saw earlier, he had probably been a monk at Saint Symeon; like Nikon, he may have also been a member of Luke’s community at the Theotokos at an earlier stage. This would offer an additional clue concerning his attachment to Chrysostomos.

But George, as demonstrated above, was also familiar with Palestine.⁴⁶ And a monastery dedicated to John Chrysostomos is in fact attested near the Jordan River. It is briefly described by the Russian monk Daniel, who paid a visit in the first decade of the twelfth century (1106–8), and later on in the same century by the Cretan pilgrim John Phokas (1177), who informs us that it was 5 *stadia* distant from Kalamon, which lies between Jericho and the Jordan.⁴⁷ It is very tempting to assume a link between the Cypriot and Palestinian Chrysostomos monasteries to explain the relationship of Koutsovendis with the Judean desert; such a suggestion is nevertheless not warranted in any way by the available evidence. The only certainty is that George, together with other members of the community that he founded on Mount Koutsovendis, came from the region of Antioch, almost certainly via Palestine. Nikon’s address to them as his fathers and brothers points toward the same conclusion.

44 R. Lefevre, “Roma e la comunità etiopica di Cipro nei secoli XV e XVI,” *RSE* 1.1 (1941): 76, and E. Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina: Storia della comunità Etiopica di Gerusalemme*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1943–47), 2:2.

45 “Ἐλεγεν ὁ τοιοῦτος γέρων, ὅτι ἐν ἀρχῇ ὅτε εἰς τὴν χώραν τοῦτην [sic] εἰσῆλθον ἐκ πολλῆς πίστεως κινήσεις, παρώκησα εἰς τὰ ἀνώτερα μέρη ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, ὡς βουλόμενος ἐκεῖ κατοικεῖν [This *geron* used to say that “in the beginning, when motivated by much faith I first came to this land, I settled in the upper parts, in the cave of Saint John Chrysostomos, wishing to dwell there”] (Yiangou, *Nikwv*, 44 [above, n. 14]), and H. Zayat, “Vie du patriarche melkite d’Antioche Christophore (+967) par le

protospathaire Ibrahim b. Yuhanna. Document inédit du Xe siècle,” *ProC* 2 (1952): 336–37. See also K.-P. Todt, *Region und griechisch-orthodoxes Patriarchat von Antiocheia in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit und im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge (969–1204)*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1998), 2: 797. A (late antique?) church whose remains were reported near Teknepinar, to the west of Antioch, is also said to have been dedicated to Chrysostomos (Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Itinéraires archéologiques*, 48 [above, n. 34]).

46 A chapel of John Chrysostomos in what used to be a monk’s dwelling exists at Mar Saba in the Judean desert too, although it is not known at what period the cave (complex 37) acquired its new function and dedication (J. Patrich, *Sabas,*

Leader of Palestinian Monasticism: A Comparative Study in Eastern Monasticism, Fourth to Seventh Centuries [Washington, D.C., 1995], 75, 85–86).

47 M. Garzaniti, *Daniil Egumeno, Itinerario in Terra Santa* (Rome, 1991), 108; account of John Phokas in PG 133:953C-D. A lead seal (11th/12th c.) and a 12th-c. manuscript (Venice marc. suppl. gr. I, 14) also testify to the existence of this monastery (S. Vailhé, “Répertoire alphabétique des monastères de Palestine,” *ROC* 5 [1900]: 22, V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l’empire byzantin*, vol. 5.2, *L’église* [Paris, 1965], no. 1580, and E. Mioni, *Bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti*, 3 vols. [Rome, 1967], 1.1: 19).

George in Cyprus

The establishment of monasteries on Cyprus by monks from the Syro-Palestinian mainland is a recurring theme in this period. The story of the foundation of the Machairas monastery in the mid-twelfth century provides an interesting parallel in this respect.⁴⁸ And as we just saw, mainland establishments held considerable properties on the island where they maintained metochia. The presence of Georgian monks, too, on the island must be surely linked to that of several Georgian monastic communities in the region of Antioch: a Georgian monastery at Yialia in north-western Cyprus, where its ruins are still to be seen, is first recorded in a manuscript colophon of the later tenth century, and there is further evidence for its functioning in the following centuries.⁴⁹ The community of Panagia Phorbiotissa at Asinou may have maintained some link with Palestine too, in particular with the laura of Saint Sabas: the notices in the Par. gr. 1590 on the deaths of hegumens of Asinou during the twelfth century describe them as “disciples” of Saint Sabas (μύστης πεφυκώς πατροπάτορος Σάβα [having been a disciple of the father’s father Sabas]: f. 108v, 142r), although how exactly this should be interpreted remains uncertain. The manuscript itself (copied in 1062/63) provides more secure evidence for such links: its script not only bears all the hallmarks of the Cypro-Palestinian milieu, but it is also closely related to that of another manuscript whose place of copying may have been in Palestine: the Laurent. San Marco 787 was produced in 1049/50 at the Theotokos *tou Kalamiou*, perhaps to be identified with the monastery of Kalamon in the Judean desert.⁵⁰ By the twelfth century both manuscripts were in Cyprus.⁵¹ Thus, although the nature of the links between Asinou and the Judean desert monasteries remains unclear, some of its monks and perhaps its founders, like George of Koutsovendis, may have arrived on the island from Palestine.

48 I. P. Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακά Τυπικά* (Nicosia, 1969), 1–68, P. Agathonos, *Αγίου Νείλου Τυπική Διάταξις* (Machairas, 2001); see also C. Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980), 120–22, A. Bandy, “Rule of Neilos, Bishop of Tamasia, for the Monastery of the Mother of God of Machairas in Cyprus,” in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, 3: 1107–75 (above, n. 18), and N. Coureas, *The Foundation Rules of Cypriot Medieval Monasteries: Makhairas and St. Neophytos* (Nicosia, 2003).

49 W. Z. Djobadze, “Observations on the Georgian Monastery of Yalia (Galia) in Cyprus,” *OC* 68 (1984): 196–209, and Djobadze, *Materials* (above, n. 33).

50 P. Canart remains cautious about the identification of the two monasteries: “Les écritures livresques chypriotes du milieu du XIe siècle au milieu du XIIIe et le style palestino-chypriote «epsilon»,” *ScritCiv* 5 (1981): 29 n. 36; further bibliography in S. Kotzampase, *Βυζαντινά χειρόγραφα από τα μοναστήρια της Μικράς Ασίας* (Athens, 2004), 76. For the Judean Kalamon, also dedicated to the Virgin according to the testimony of the early-12th-c. Russian pilgrim Daniel, see D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1993–98), 1: 197–201; a (different?) monastery of the Theotokos of Kalamon is attested in 1054

(possibly in Bithynia?) (Janin, *Grands centres*, 154–55 [above, n. 34], and Kotzampase, *Βυζαντινά χειρόγραφα*, 76–77). There was also a Georgian monastery of the Valley of the Reeds (presumably called τῶν Καλάμων in Greek) in the region of Antioch, but its dedication (perhaps to Saint Michael or Saint George) remains uncertain (Djobadze, *Materials*, 91–94).

51 Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 49–54 no. 1 (above, n. 24), and Darrouzès, “Autres manuscrits,” 144–45 (above, n. 7). For the history of this monastery, see the relevant chapter by Gilles Grivaud in the forthcoming Dumbarton Oaks publication of the church of Asinou.

The date of George's arrival on Cyprus, as well as the reasons that led him there, must remain a matter of speculation. It may be assumed that the establishment of a monastic community on Mount Koutsovendis preceded the consecration of the katholikon in 1090 by a short period of time. If George left northern Syria after the Seljuks' arrival and also spent some time in Palestine, then his establishment on Mount Koutsovendis may have taken place only a few years before the consecration.

According to the typikon entry on the *enkainia*, relics of three martyrs, namely James the Persian, Marina, and Prokopios, were deposited in the katholikon on that occasion. It is unclear where George obtained them, but in view of his likely sojourn in Palestine it would not be unreasonable to assume that they may have originated there.⁵² It is important to note that there is further evidence concerning the circulation of relics of James the Persian at around the same time: Guillelmus, a monk of the abbey of Cormery near Tours in France who had traveled to the Holy Land and served under Alexios I Komnenos in the early years of his reign, acquired at considerable expense what was believed to be the saint's head from a monastery in Nikomedeia. In 1103, by which time he had become bishop of Salpi in Apulia, he donated this together with numerous other relics, including one of the True Cross, to his former monastery.⁵³

A particle of the True Cross (τὸ τίμιον ξύλον) is mentioned on several occasions in our typikon too (f. 19v, 87v–91r, 171v–173r, 220r–221v). It was brought out of the *skeuophylakion* on the eve of the Exaltation of the Cross (13 September), on the eve of Epiphany

52 The relic of Prokopios (martyred in Palestine during Diocletian's persecutions) is attested in the late 11th c. at Naissus (Niš), from where part of it (an arm) was carried away to Sirmium during a Hungarian raid; it was restored by Manuel I in 1165 (*Ioannis Cinnami epitome*, ed. A. Meineke [Bonn, 1836], 227, P. Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier: A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204* [Cambridge, 2000], 189–91). A monastery dedicated to Prokopios is attested in this period in the region of Antioch (Djobadze, *Materials*, 104).

53 “Acta translationis SS. Reliquiarum in Monasterium Cormaricenum,” *Instrumenta Ecclesiae Turonensis LVIII, Instrumenta ad tomum XIV Galliae Christianae* col. 76–78, *Gallia Christiana* 14 (1856). On Guillelmus and the relevant source evidence see J. Shepard, “Cross-purposes: Alexius Comnenus and the First Crusade,” in

The First Crusade: Origins and Impact, ed. J. Phillips (Manchester, 1997), 116–18, and especially Shepard, “How St. James the Persian's Head Was Brought to Cormery. A Relic Collector around the Time of the First Crusade,” in *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie: Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur*, ed. L. M. Hoffmann and A. Monchizadeh (Mainz, 2005), 287–335. The head of James the Persian is attested in later centuries too, after the Fourth Crusade when it was taken from Constantinople to Soissons by Bishop Nivelon de Chérisy, while during the Palaeologan period it was said to be housed in the capital in the Pantokrator monastery, with another relic at Saint Stephen of Mangana (P. Riant, *Dépouilles religieuses enlevées à Constantinople au XIIIe siècle par les Latins* [Paris, 1875], 190, and Riant, *Exuviae sacrae constantinopolitanae*

[Geneva, 1876]), 1: 8; G. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* [Washington, D.C., 1984], 43, 95, 153, 163, 187, 293, 387; yet another relic of the saint appears in an inventory of 1200 from Patmos (C. Astruc, “L'inventaire dressé en Septembre 1200 du trésor et de la bibliothèque de Patmos. Édition diplomatique,” *TM* 8 [1981]: 21). In modern times the monasteries of Kykko and Machairas, as well as numerous shrines outside Cyprus, have claimed to possess relics of all three saints mentioned in connection with the Koutsovendis *enkainia* (O. Meinardus, “Relics in the Churches and Monasteries of Cyprus,” *Ostkirchliche Studien* 19 [1970]: 19–43, and Meinardus, “A Study of the Relics of Saints of the Greek Orthodox Church,” *OC* 54 [1970]: 195–96, 211–12, 243–45).

(5 January), on the third Sunday of Lent, and on 1 August, when the blessing of the True Cross took place. We are told nothing, however, about its origin. The association of Cyprus with relics of the Passion is supposed to go back to the discovery of the True Cross by Saint Helena in the fourth century.⁵⁴ The tradition linking the island with the empress-mother's journey to the Holy Land, however, is not reported until the late medieval period. The full story is given in a fourteenth-century (?) text preserved in a later manuscript (British Museum Add. 34554) and is also known through the chronicle of Leontios Machairas.⁵⁵ According to this account, on her way back from Jerusalem and having left the True Cross there, Helena disembarked on the south coast of Cyprus with the crosses of the two thieves and four small crosses made from the footpiece of the True Cross. Following a vision and later on a miracle, she founded two shrines in which she deposited part of these relics (at Tochni and Stavrovouni).

Despite the late attestation of the legend, there is no doubt that the cult of the Cross on Cyprus was well developed in the middle Byzantine period, when relics of the Passion are recorded and the Helena story is alluded to. The earliest such allusion is due to the Russian monk Daniel (1106–8), who mentions a cross erected by Saint Helena on Stavrovouni with nails from the True Cross. More important, according to a tradition first recorded in 1109 and relating the story of the Cross as this was known to Crusaders in Palestine at that time, one half of the True Cross had been left by Helena in Jerusalem while the other half was taken to Constantinople; the former was later cut into nineteen pieces, two of which found their way to Cyprus.⁵⁶ Indeed, in the mid-1160s, Neophytos the Recluse set out from his hermitage, which he dedicated to the Holy Cross, to obtain a particle and acquired one, presumably from within the island (no overseas journey is mentioned); he also reports having experienced a vision or dream in which he was urged to venerate the

54 J. Mateos, *Le typicon de la grande église: Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40, Xe siècle* (Rome, 1962), 356–57. The historicity of the discovery is not in question, although the role of Helena in it remains doubtful (J. W. Drijvers, *Helena Augusta, the Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross* [Leiden, 1992], 83–93). For a more detailed discussion of the relevant issues than the one that follows, see Papacostas, “Byzantine Cyprus,” 1: 95–99 (above, n. 4).

55 T. Papadopoulos, “Ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαιοτάτης ἱστορίας τοῦ πατριαρχείου Ἱεροσολύμων. Ἡ ἐπίσκεψις τῆς ἁγίας Ἑλένης εἰς Παλαιστίνην καὶ Κύπρον,” *Νέα Σιών* (1952): 29; Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, *Λεοντίου Μαχαιρά Χρονικό της Κύπρου*, 65–68 (Dawkins, ed., *Leontios Makhairas*, 1: 4–8 [above, n. 28]). On the date of the source preserved in the 16th-c. BM Add. 34554, see G. Grivaud, “Formes et mythe de la *strateia* à Chypre,” *ÉtBalk* 5 (1998): 47–48.

56 A. Frolov, *La relique de la Vraie Croix: Recherches sur le développement d'un culte* (Paris, 1961), 310–11. On Daniel, see n. 47.

cross of Christ on Mount Olympus (Stavrovouni) near his native village of Lefkara.⁵⁷ In the following century Cross relics are attested in Nicosia, where they changed hands among officials of the Latin church, and at the Premonstratensian abbey of Bellapais, to which a particle was bequeathed by a certain Roger the Norman (both in 1245).⁵⁸ Relics of the Passion kept in various churches and monasteries on the island are frequently mentioned in the accounts of later chroniclers, pilgrims, and travelers, most notably in 1340 when the cross of Tochni, stolen twenty-two years earlier, was rediscovered and housed in a new monastery built and decorated with patronage from the Lusignan court.⁵⁹

The honor of the earliest record of a Cross relic on Cyprus, however, falls to Koutsovendis, in 1090 (assuming that the typikon dates from the time of the monastery's foundation, an issue that will be examined later on). Before this date there appears to be no explicit mention of relics associated with the Crucifixion on the island in the surviving sources. This is surprising, to say the least, in view of the numerous later attestations. What is even more startling is the lack of any evidence for either the cult of the Cross or the Helena link in texts emanating from late antique Cyprus.⁶⁰ Even the *Inventio Crucis*, a treatise with particular emphasis on the story of the discovery of the True Cross, which is thought by some scholars to have been written on the island by the same sixth-century author who composed at Salamis/Constantia the *Laudatio S. Barnabae*, contains no reference

57 Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακά Τυπικά*, 77 (above, n. 48), I. E. Stephanes in *Αγίου Νεοφύτου του Εγκλείστου Συγγράμματα*, 2:33 (above, n. 28), and C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall-Paintings," *DOP* 20 (1966): 124 n. 12; see also Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint*, 116 (above, n. 4).

58 P.-V. Claverie, "Apud Ciprum Nicossiam: Notes sur les relations cyprico-auvergnates au XIII^e siècle," *Επ. Κέν. Επιστ. Ερ.* 31 (2005): 50, and N. Coureas and C. Schabel, *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia* (Nicosia, 1997), 126.

59 Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, *Λεοντίου Μαχαίρα Χρονικό της Κύπρου*, 87–88, 101–7 (Dawkins, ed., *Leontios Makhairas*, 1: 38, 62–72); for various accounts see, for example, C. D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1908), 14, 23; G. Grivaud, *Excerpta Cypria nova: Voyageurs occidentaux à Chypre au XV^e siècle* (Nicosia,

1990), 120; Iodoci a Meggen Patricii Lucerini, *Peregrinatio Hierosolymitana* (Dillingen, 1580), 70–71; E. de Lusignan, *Description de toute l'isle de Cypre* (Paris, 1580), f. 64r.

60 The 7th-c. Cypriot patriarch of Alexandria John the Almsgiver is said to have acquired a golden pectoral cross containing a particle of the True Cross and formerly belonging to the bishop of Tiberias who had fled to Alexandria during the Persian advance into Palestine (H. Delehay, "Une vie inédite de Saint Jean l'Aumônier," *AB* 45 [1927]: 24, and E. Lappa-Zizicas, "Un épitomé de la Vie de S. Jean l'Aumônier par Jean et Sophronius," *AB* 88 [1970]: 277); the subsequent fate of the precious relic is not recorded, although it is likely that the patriarch would have taken it with him when he returned to his native island where he died in 619/20.

whatsoever to a local cult or relics.⁶¹ Thus, in view of the lack of secure evidence for Cross relics on Cyprus before the late eleventh century, the question of the origin of the Koutsovendis particle cannot be answered with any degree of certainty. George and his monks may have acquired it locally; they may as well have brought it with them from the mainland, perhaps contributing to the growth of the cult on the island.

George's choice of location for his establishment is puzzling. There is no reference in the typikon to any miraculous icon linked with the foundation, such as those that allegedly prompted the establishment of many a monastery on the island and elsewhere, nor is any tradition associated with one attested in later centuries. Neither did the monastery develop around the hermitage or tomb of a holy man. We therefore have to seek the causes behind George's decision elsewhere than in any religious association of the locality itself.

The site overlooks the island's central plain and is only a short distance from Nicosia (figs. 1, 2),⁶² which had replaced Salamis/Constantia as the island's administrative and ecclesiastical capital in middle Byzantine times. It is even closer to one of the main passes across the Kyrenia Mountains, above Kythrea.⁶³ The road connecting the northern coast with the central plain and Salamis/Constantia via this pass and Chytroi/Kythrea farther downhill (east of Koutsovendis) is attested in late antiquity⁶⁴ and may have been in use during later centuries too for, although the early capital lay in ruins by this period, Kythrea was never abandoned. Information on the latter is nevertheless very sparse. It was an episcopal see since late antique times, and its best-known incumbent had been the ninth/early-tenth-century Saint Demetrianos. Although no bishops are attested after Demetrianos, there is no doubt that the diocese continued functioning until the thirteenth century, when it was incorporated into that of Nicosia,

61 Text in PG 87:3: 4015–88; there is disagreement about whether the two homonymous authors, both called Alexander the Monk, are one and the same person (A. P. Kazhdan, "Alexander the Monk," *ODB* 1: 60, and P. Van Deun and J. Noret, *Hagiographica Cypria: Sancti Barnabae laudatio auctore Alexandro monacho et Sanctorum Bartholomaei et Barnabae vita e menologio imperiali deprompta. Vita sancti Auxibii* [Turnhout, 1993], 15–16; see also Englezakis, *Εἰκοσι Μελέται*, 26 [above, n. 13]). Although no cross relic is attested on the island in late antiquity, it has been suggested that the ciborium-like structure in the east atrium of the sumptuous 5th-c. Campanopetra basilica

at Salamis/Constantia may have been erected to house precisely such a relic (C. Delvoye, "La place des grandes basiliques de Salamine de Chypre dans l'architecture paléochrétienne," in *Salamine de Chypre: Histoire et archéologie. Etat des recherches: Lyon, 13–17 mars 1978*, ed. M. Yon [Paris, 1980], 316, and G. Roux, *La basilique de la Campanopetra* [Paris, 1998], 245–47).

62 It took Vasilii Barskii only three hours to ride to the monastery from Nicosia in 1735 (A. D. Grishin, *A Pilgrim's Account of Cyprus: Bars'kyj's Travels in Cyprus* [Altamont, New York, 1996], 28).

63 T. Papacostas, "Byzantine Nicosia," in *Nicosia through the Ages*, ed. D. Michaelides

(forthcoming). The most important route across the mountains, linking Nicosia to Kyrenia, followed the defile below the castle of Saint Hilarion: see p. 85.

64 Saint Spyridon is said to have used this road on his way from Tremithus to Kyrenia in the 4th c. (P. van den Ven, *La légende de Saint Spyridon évêque de Trimithonte* [Louvain, 1953], 63). The evidence from milestones and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* is examined by R. Mitford ("Roman Cyprus," in *ANRW* 2, 7.2, ed. H. Temporini [Berlin-New York, 1980], 1333–35, 1340). For a more detailed discussion, see now T. Bekker-Nielsen, *The Roads of Ancient Cyprus* (Copenhagen, 2004), 153–55, 250–52.

following the reduction of the island's Orthodox sees.⁶⁵ A hint concerning the continuing cult of Demetrianos at Kythrea after his death (ca. 913?) is provided by the manuscript that contains his vita (Sinait. gr. 789): it appears to have been written for his main local shrine during the twelfth century.⁶⁶ But the driving force behind Kythrea's survival was surely its economic rather than its religious significance. The area was known for its fresh-water springs, the most important on the island. From them an aqueduct supplied Salamis/Constantia in late antiquity.⁶⁷ In the later medieval period (and presumably earlier too), they powered several mills, and those belonging to the king were a considerable economic asset for the crown in Lusignan times.⁶⁸

Thus the monastery's location was clearly neither remote nor isolated. Had inaccessibility and isolation been major concerns of his, George would have settled perhaps instead in the Troodos Mountains, whose wooded valleys offered an ideal retreat for ascetic life, as attested by the monastic communities founded at around the same time by Esaïas of Kykko or later on by Neophytos and Ignatios of Machairas. Yet he opted for the benign seclusion of Mount Koutsovendis's southern flank. We should not forget, however, George's background: he must have been accustomed to living in communities that were in close contact with the hierarchy of the secular church in nearby urban centers (Antioch, Jerusalem). As mentioned earlier, at around the same time and within walking distance from Koutsovendis, another monastery was established, namely Apsinthiotissa, and, as will become obvious below, the architecture and later history of the two monasteries are closely interconnected. It is therefore most unfortunate that no information has survived concerning the circumstances of Apsinthiotissa's foundation, which would have perhaps provided some clues about Koutsovendis too.

The possibility that George wished to be within easy reach of the seat of ecclesiastical (and secular) power on the island may perhaps account for his selection of Mount Koutsovendis. It does not, however, explain how he was able to acquire the land on which the monastery was built. There is no indication that he was either a native of the island and owned inherited estates there (although neither possibility can of course be excluded), or that he disposed of the financial

65 Coureas and Schabel, *The Cartulary*, 216–19 and 249–52 (above, n. 58), and P. W. Edbury, "Latin Dioceses and Peristerona: A Contribution to the Topography of Lusignan Cyprus," *Επ. Κέυ. Επιστ. Ερ.* 8 (1975–77): 45–51.

66 H. Grégoire, "Saint Démétrianos, évêque de Chytri (île de Chypre)," *BZ* 16

(1907): 214–16; see also Darrouzès, "Autres manuscrits," 154 (above, n. 7).

67 J.-P. Sodini, "Les inscriptions de l'aqueduc de Kythrea à Salamine de Chypre," in *Εὐψυχία. Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler* (Paris, 1998), 2: 619–34.

68 In the 16th c. more than 50 mills are reported (R. de Mas Latrie, *Chronique de*

l'île de Chypre par Florio Bustron [Paris, 1886, repr. Nicosia, 1996], 29). The royal mills are first attested in 1210 and then again in 1220 (J. Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem 1100–1310* [Paris, 1894–1906], 2: 122, and Coureas and Schabel, *The Cartulary*, 167–68).

means to assist his fledgling community. Yet, soon after the latter was set up, an ambitious building program was initiated and an ostentatious church was built for its needs. Both the architecture and decoration of the *katholikon*, as we shall see later, are quite exceptional in the context of what we know about monuments on the island at that time. George perhaps enjoyed the generosity of a wealthy unattested patron who would have also donated the land. And it was soon to attract yet another patron, this time a well-known member of the imperial circle.

The Death of George

How much longer beyond 1090 George lived, we do not know. Nikon's letter to him is dated by Theodore Yiangou to the period after the arrival of John Oxeites in Antioch in early 1092 and probably before the appearance of the Crusaders in 1097, on the basis of internal evidence contained in the letters.⁶⁹ The terms used by Nikon to describe himself in relation to George and vice versa (he is his son: f. 83r; George is his spiritual father: f. 82v; see Appendix lines 5, 36) would suggest that George was his senior by at least a few years. Nikon himself is thought to have been born around 1025; by the mid-1090s he would have been in his seventies. George, being older, cannot have lived much longer. Yet some tantalizing evidence suggests that he was still alive toward the turn of the century.

In his testament, dated to 1157, Theoktistos, hegumen of the monastery of Saint John the Theologian of Patmos (1127–1157/58), relates how he started his monastic career: while still a young man he traveled to Palestine, where he joined a virtuous old ascetic. When trouble befell the region because of repeated Saracen raids (διὰ δὲ τὰς τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐκεῖσε συνεχεῖς ἐφόδους καὶ ἐπηρείας), he left for Cyprus, where he stayed with a monk whose fame attracted him. This was none other than our George: πρὸς τὸν πανοσιώτατον μοναχόν, κυρὸν Γεώργιον καὶ ἡγούμενον τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον Κύπρον εὐαγεστάτης μονῆς, ἣ καὶ Κουτζουβεινίτου ἐπονομάζεται, διὰ ταχέως ἐφοίτησα τῆς ἀγαθῆς αὐτοῦ με φήμης συνωθησάσης. Τούτου δὲ μετ'οὐ πολὺ πρὸς κύριον ἐκδημήσαντος καὶ τὰς τιμίας εὐχὰς αὐτοῦ συνοδοιπόρους λαβὼν ἐξῆλθον τῶν ἐκεῖσε . . . [Attracted by his good reputation, I went quickly to the all-holy monk *kyr* George, the hegumen of the most holy monastery on the island of Cyprus which is called Koutzoubeinitou. But when after a short while he passed away I left that place, taking with me his venerable blessing as my companion. (MM 6:106)] Theoktistos made his way to Patmos, where he joined the monastery of John the Theologian, at that time under the leadership of Joseph Iasites. At some later stage, he accompanied Iasites to Constantinople, where they obtained a chrysobull from Alexios

69 Yiangou, *Nikwn*, 142 (above, n. 14).

I Komnenos awarding their monastery an annual grant of wheat from Crete.

Two chronological indications in this text may help establish the date of Theoktistos's journey, and therefore of George's death, too: the first is the "Saracen raids" that forced Theoktistos out of Palestine; the second is the hegumenate of Joseph Iasites. Let us examine the latter first. Iasites was the immediate successor of Christodoulos of Patmos, who died on 16 March 1093. During Iasites' hegumenate at least two chrysobulls were granted to the monastery by Alexios I; he held office until his death sometime before that of the emperor (d. 1118), for the latter is reported to have granted even more privileges to Patmos after the demise of Iasites.⁷⁰ Since the chrysobulls have not been preserved, it remains impossible to ascribe them a date. This leaves us with a wide chronological framework, extending from 1093 to an indeterminate date before 1118. Era Vranousi assumes that the journey of Theoktistos and Iasites to Constantinople took place shortly after 1093.⁷¹ What was said above concerning George's advanced age supports this assumption (Theoktistos arrived at Patmos early in Iasites' hegumenate), and so does the following: in that Theoktistos makes no reference to the Crusaders, his departure from Palestine and the "Saracen raids" that caused it must date from before the capture of Jerusalem in July 1099. Now, the major military confrontation in the area between 1093 and 1099 was the fall of Artuqid-held Jerusalem to the Fatimids of Egypt in the summer before the Crusader conquest (26 August 1098).⁷² It is probably the unrest caused by this event that prompted Theoktistos to flee. If this is indeed so, he must have reached Cyprus in the course of 1098.⁷³

At about the same time, the patriarch of Jerusalem Symeon II also fled to Cyprus. The temptation to link the two men's journeys is strong but perhaps misguided. Had the impressionable young Theoktistos traveled in the retinue of the patriarch, he would have probably mentioned it. What is more, according to the latest discussion of the conflicting source evidence, the date of Symeon's departure from Jerusalem appears to be somewhat earlier (late 1097?).⁷⁴ What

70 P. Gautier, "La date de la mort de Christodoule de Patmos (mercredi 16 mars 1093)," *REB* 25 (1967): 35–38; E. Vranousi, "Ο καθηγούμενος τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου Ἰωσήφ Ἰασιτίης καὶ ἡ ἀρχαιότερη ἀναγραφὴ χειρογράφων τῆς μονῆς," *Δελτ. Χριστ. Αρχ. Ετ.* 4 (1964): 347–48.

71 E. Vranousi, "Σάββας, καθηγούμενος τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου," *Ἑλληνικά* 19 (1966): 220.

72 Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, *Recueil des historiens des Croisades,*

Historiens Orientaux 1: 197–198, and S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, 1951), 1: 265–67.

73 Pahlitzsch, *Graeci und Suriani*, 161–62 (above, n. 32), dates the Palestinian and Cypriot sojourns of Theoktistos to ca. 1100.

74 Ibid., 79–83. See also Pahlitzsch, "Symeon II. und die Errichtung der lateinischen Kirche von Jerusalem durch die Kreuzfahrer," in *Militia Sancti Sepulcri: Idea e Istituzioni. Atti del colloquio inter-*

nazionale tenuto presso la Pontificia Università del Laterano 10–12 aprile 1996, ed. K. Elm and C. D. Fonseca (Vatican, 1998), 346–47. There is no specific indication that Symeon, who ascended the patriarchal throne after 1088 and before late 1094, and thus possibly after the departure of George from Palestine, either knew or met the latter. But nothing rules it out entirely.

may have happened is that Theoktistos heard of the destination of the patriarch and, aware of the good reputation of George (yet another indication of George's Palestinian connections), perhaps reported by monks such as the scribe Gerasimos, he decided to set off for Cyprus too. Shortly thereafter he witnessed George's death. Knowing from the typikon that this occurred on 26 April, we must assume that the year was most probably 1099.

The Typikon

The typikon provides some additional information on Koutsovendis: personnel included at least twelve monks, lowest being the gatekeeper (πυλωρός) and the highest the steward (οικονόμος), as appears from the ritual washing of their feet in the narthex by the hegumen on Maundy Thursday (f. 242r, 245r).⁷⁵ Also mentioned are the sacristan (ἐκκλησιάρχης: f. 19v, 220r, etc.), the precentor (κανονάρχης: f. 209v), the cellarer (κελλαρίτης: f. 256v, 267v, etc.) and the lamplighters (κανδηλάπτης: f. 19v, 42v, etc.; or κανδηλάπται: f. 59v, 263v, etc.). There are also numerous references to the buildings of the monastery and to individual monks or hegumens whose deaths are commemorated. These elements, discussed further below, provide chronological references for the dating of our document.

The manuscript, as we have seen, was probably copied in the early thirteenth century. The only date it contains is that of the consecration of the church in 1090. I have suggested above that the death of George, whose *mnemosyna* are celebrated on 26 April, may have occurred in 1099. The patron of the monastery's north church, Eumathios Philokales, is commemorated on 13 March: τὰ μνημόσυνα τοῦ Φιλοκάλου (f. 121v). The year of his death, however, remains unknown; all that can be said is that he is known to have been still active in August 1118 (see p. 70 below). Our next chronological reference is yet again related to a commemoration that has caused a mild controversy among scholars: Ἰστέον ὅτι κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπιτελοῦμεν τὰ μνημόσυνα τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ δεσπότης κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσσοστομίτου τοῦ γενομένου πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων [f. 145r] [on this day (April 24) we celebrate the *mnemosyna* of our holy father and lord *kȳr* John Chrysostomites, who became patriarch of Jerusalem]. "Chrysostomites" of course refers to a member of the community at our monastery.⁷⁶ This patriarch must have held

75 As we shall see later on, the data for the Ottoman period suggest similar numbers through the 19th c. On the narthex and this ceremony, see below, p. 122 and n. 346.

76 Could the monk Gregorios Chrysostomites, known from his surviving 12th c. seal, have been a member of the Koutsovendis community, too? See V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux* 5.2, *L'église*, 257–58, no. 1382 (above, n. 47).

office after the foundation of Koutsovendis and of course before the copying of our manuscript, hence during the twelfth century. Two incumbents named John ascended the throne of Jerusalem during this period: John VIII held office from around 1105 to shortly before 1116/17 when his successor is attested; and John IX, who was also an icon painter, ascended the patriarchal throne in 1156/57 and remained in office for a short period only.⁷⁷ Neither is recorded with the epithet Chrysostomites, however. To confuse things further, a patriarch of Jerusalem named John Merkouropoulos is attested in this period as the author of vitae of John of Damascus and of Kosmas of Maiouma, while a patriarch John is also known as the author of two treatises on the azymes. Several problems are raised by the above evidence. Here I shall be concerned only with those that relate directly to our discussion.

John VIII was bishop of Tyre and Sidon before his appointment to the patriarchal throne. It has correctly been pointed out that his patriarchal reign is too close to the foundation of Koutsovendis to allow enough time for him to have started a monastic career in Cyprus before moving to Palestine, becoming bishop there, and then, around 1105, patriarch.⁷⁸ He cannot have been our Chrysostomites and there is no other option but to identify the latter with John IX. But then there is the question of Merkouropoulos. Peter Plank has shown that he is also to be identified with John IX: a treatise on the transfer of bishops states that in 1116/17 Sabas, the metropolitan of Caesarea Philippi, became patriarch of Jerusalem “before Merkouropoulos”; this fact excludes the possibility that Merkouropoulos may have been John VIII and we thus have no other alternative but to identify him with John IX.⁷⁹ All this then leads to the unavoidable conclusion that our Chrysostomites must be John IX, whose family name was Merkouropoulos. The year of his death, commemorated in Koutsovendis’s liturgical typikon, is not recorded. Judging from the fact that he was absent from the wedding of Manuel I Komnenos to Maria of Antioch in 1161, which was attended by the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, Johannes Pahlitzsch concludes that the see may have been vacant by then. At any rate John was presumably no longer alive by 1166 when his successor Nikephoros II is first attested.⁸⁰

77 Pahlitzsch, *Graeci und Suriani*, 101–9, 140–45 (above, n. 32), and P. Plank, “Ioannes IX. von Jerusalem (1156/57–vor 1166), Patriarch im Exil,” in *Horizonte der Christenheit, Festschrift für Friedrich Heyer zu seinem 85. Geburtstag*, ed. M. Kohlbacher and M. Lesinski (Erlangen, 1994), 176–91.

78 Englezakis, *Εἴκοσι μελέται*, 27–28 (above, n. 13).

79 J. Darrouzès, “Le traité des transferts. Édition critique et commentaire,” *REB* 42 (1984): 183.

80 Pahlitzsch, *Graeci und Suriani*, 144.

The typikon includes two more mnemosyna, both on 19 January, for the hegumen Nikephoros and the monk Kosmas Chrysostomites (f. 101r: τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν: perhaps a hegumen too?). Since both are otherwise unattested, the only safe assumption is that their floruit must be placed during the twelfth century. As we shall see at a later stage, there is more evidence for other hegumens in the 1150s, recorded by Neophytos the Recluse who was tonsured at Koutsovendis. His brother John also joined the community, to become *oikonomos* by 1176 and then hegumen shortly before around 1214.⁸¹ Our typikon contains no commemoration for John (or for Neophytos for that matter, surely by this time one of the monastery's most illustrious alumni). This would suggest (but not prove) that it may have been compiled before John's death. Neophytos does not yield any information on the latter, nor does any other source. We are therefore forced to assume that it probably took place after the demise of Neophytos himself (who died shortly after 1214).⁸² This would provide a terminus ante quem for the typikon as it is preserved in the Par. gr. 402 and confirm the early-thirteenth-century date initially proposed for the manuscript.

The question now is, to what extent this text can be considered the original typikon? In other words, is what we have a copy of an earlier lost original that incorporates later additions, or was a typikon for the community at Koutsovendis composed only after more than a century following its constitution? To begin with, a terminus post quem for its composition, and consequently for the setting up of the monastic community, is furnished by the mention of the *Akolouthia* of the Three Hierarchs by John (Mauropous), metropolitan of Euchaita (f. 108r), who died after 1075, perhaps even after 1081.⁸³ If we assume that the text we have is a later copy of a lost original, then the various mnemosyna examined above may derive from marginal notes in an earlier (and now lost) manuscript. Indeed the latter may be surmised from the frequent mentions of monastic usage in Palestine, which imply that it was composed not a very long time after the establishment of the community on Cyprus, when the memory of its Palestinian interlude was still relatively fresh.

81 Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint*, 65, 180 (above, n. 4).

82 A reference by Neophytos to his brother as "blessed" (τοῦ μακαρίου μου ἀνταδελφου) in a text written shortly after 1206 (?) is too vague to be interpreted as an indication that John was dead (C. Chatzipsaltes, "Νεοφύτου πρεσβυτέρου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἐγκλείστου βιβλιογραφικὸν σημείωμα. Εἰδήσεις τινες περὶ τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ

μονῆς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου," *Ἐπ. Κέντ. Επιστ. Ἐρ.* 6 (1972–73): 126. G.

Christodoulou suggests that the Recluse died on 12 April 1219 (G. Christodoulou, "Un Canon inédit sur la Théosémie de Néophyte le Reclus composé par son frère, Jean le Chrysostomite," *REB* 55 [1997]: 252).

83 A. Karpozilos, *Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τοῦ βίου καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Ἰωάννη Μαυρόποδος* (Ioannina, 1982), 49–50, 162–66.

Another possible indication of an early date is the omission of the transfer of the relic of Lazaros of Galesion from a provisional to a more permanent sepulcher on Mount Galesion itself after his death in 1053. The date of the translation is not known, although it appears to have occurred in the second half of the eleventh century, soon after the composition of the saint's vita (written in or shortly after 1058), which also ignores this event.⁸⁴ In that Lazaros had been to the Wondrous Mountain during his travels in his early days (ca. 1009/10), and considering his later notoriety, one would expect the local communities, from which George and his followers hailed, to have kept alive the memory of his passage from Saint Symeon and perhaps to display a particular interest in his relic's fate. But the cult of Lazaros did not develop until the early thirteenth century, and the translation only appears in late versions of the Constantinopolitan synaxarion (on 17 July).⁸⁵ Thus its absence from our document is perfectly understandable, provided that we accept an early date for its composition.

Although it may be reasonable to assume that the various commemorations started as marginal notes before their incorporation into the typikon, the same cannot be said of another type of information contained therein. On numerous occasions the stipulations concerning the liturgical procedure to be followed on specific feastdays refer to the various buildings of the monastery (which, incidentally, leave no doubt as to the identity of the establishment for which it was written). The *trapeza* is of course mentioned on countless occasions. We hear of the monks' cells (f. 9v, 12v, etc.) and the hegumen's apartments, of a storeroom, a granary, and a wine cellar (ἡγουμενεῖον, κελλάριον, ὠρεῖον, οἶνοχοεῖον: f. 172v), as well as a fountain (βρύση τοῦ ὕδατος: f. 91r), presumably in the courtyard of the monastery. There is also mention of the various types of *semantron* used by the community (σήμαντρον: f. 125r; σύμβολον: f. 237v, 240r, etc.; βαρέα: f. 73v, 112v, etc.; σίδηρον: f. 42v, 134v, etc.). More important, no fewer than four churches are also mentioned:

A. The "great church" (f. 58v, 59v), clearly the monastery's no longer surviving katholikon of 1090, with its *diakonikon* (f. 221v, 258r), *bema* (f. 59v, 241r, etc.), and a narthex (f. 2v, 59v, etc.) with lateral apses

⁸⁴ Greenfield, *Lazaros of Mt. Galesion*, 9, 52, 63–64 (above, n. 43). According to his vita, Lazaros was provisionally buried in the narthex of the church at his monastery on Mount Galesion, until the new hegumen to be elected by the community would make a final decision (*AASS* Nov. 3 [Brussels, 1910], 587–88); Lazaros was eventually succeeded by his brother Ignatios, who presumably proceeded to organize the transfer.

⁸⁵ Eastern Orthodox Church, *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, e codice Simondiano nunc Berolinensi / adiectis synaxariis selectis opera et studio Hippolyti Delehaye* (Brussels, 1902), 826; the commemoration of the relic's transfer is also absent from the typikon of the Great Church (Mateos, *Typicon*, 344 [above, n. 54]).

(χωροί: f. 222r) [see pp. 125–27] and “royal doors” leading into the naos (βασιλικαὶ πύλαι: f. 22r, 60r, etc.).⁸⁶ A skeuophylakion is often referred to (f. 19v, 171v, etc.) as the repository of the True Cross relic and must have been very close to or perhaps part of the main church. The latter’s furnishings included the altar table (ἁγία τράπεζα: f. 221r), a movable icon/relic stand (τετράποδον: f. 221v), two probably fixed icon stands (προσκυνήματα τοῦ βήματος: f. 263v), pews (καθέδραι: f. 256v), and a six-light fixture (ἑξάφωτον: f. 263v).

B. The Holy Trinity (f. 42v, 58r, etc.) with its own bema (f. 58v) and narthex (f. 59r–v, 135v) whose north door is also mentioned (f. 59v). This is of course the surviving parekklesion, well known for its fresco decoration. The λουτήρ mentioned in connection with the celebrations on the eve of Epiphany was perhaps adjacent to this, possibly inside the narthex, although the wording of the relevant rubric is ambiguous (ἐξερχόμεθα πάντες ἐν τῷ λουτήρι ἡγουν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος [and we all go out into the *louter*, which is in the church of the Holy Trinity]: f. 87r).⁸⁷

C. The “Theotokos of the cemetery” (f. 181r, 226r, etc.), clearly outside the monastery and downhill from it (f. 264v), surely to be identified with one of the now-ruinous contiguous churches to the south of the compound, perhaps with the northernmost, usually referred to as the Panagia Aphendrika.

D. The church of Saint Lazaros (f. 228v),⁸⁸ perhaps also in the cemetery and, if so, possibly to be identified with the ruin known as the Savior, adjacent to the Panagia Aphendrika, which contains the well-known Lamentation (Entombment) fresco.

The remains of these structures will be examined in more detail later on. For now, only their presumed dates are relevant. The katholikon is the only securely dated church, consecrated in 1090. Its apsed narthex was added very soon thereafter and before the construction of the Holy Trinity. The latter’s narthex was also built very soon after the completion of the parekklesion. The Savior chapel outside the monastery was erected during the same period, too. Thus contiguous churches and nartheces within the compound, as well as one of the nearby chapels, were all built in quick succession within a few years of the monastery’s foundation. This poses of course no problem as far

86 On the use of the latter term at Evergetis, see L. Rodley, “Evergetis: Where It Was and What It Looked Like,” in *The Theotokos Evergetis and Eleventh-Century Monasticism*, ed. M. Mullett and A. Kirby (Belfast, 1994), 25–26; see also R. Taft, “The Pontifical Liturgy of the Great Church According to a Twelfth-Century Diataxis in

Codex British Museum Add. 34060,” *OCP* 45 (1979): 284 n. 12.

87 At the Kecharitomene the narthex housed a *phiale* (P. Gautier, “Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitoménè,” *REB* 43 [1985]: 127). It is unclear what the relationship (if any) between this *louter* and the fountain mentioned above may be; in the

case of Evergetis it has been suggested that the λουτρόν and the φιάλη were one and the same (Rodley, “Evergetis,” 27–28).

88 Englezakis, *Είκοσι μελέται*, 635 n. 3 (above, n. 13).

as the typikon is concerned. But there does seem to be a discrepancy with regard to the Panagia Aphendrika, for the surviving (albeit ruinous) structure appears to belong to a slightly later period, probably the second half or the end of the twelfth century. Although it may have replaced an earlier building, in the current state of our knowledge there is no evidence to support or deny this. How should one explain, then, its mention in our text, if this was indeed composed at the time of the monastery's foundation or very shortly thereafter? The only answer must be that this resulted from additions made by the early-thirteenth-century scribe to integrate within the liturgical program the newly (re?)built church.

This discussion so far suggests that the typikon in its original form probably dates from the last years of the eleventh or the very early twelfth century, perhaps after the death of the founder George. Its calendar is close to Constantinopolitan usage, from which it nevertheless differs in a few, sometimes significant items. In that an edition of the text is lacking, only some of its most important peculiarities will be dealt with here.⁸⁹ In addition to the commemorations examined above (19 January: Kosmas Chrysostomites and hegumen Nikephoros, 13 March: Eumathios Philokales, 24 April: John Chrysostomites, 26 April: founder George), note the following salient features:

17 October: The translation of the relic of Saint Lazaros (of Bethany) from Cyprus to Constantinople by Leo VI, commemorated on this day in the Constantinopolitan synaxarion, and the enkainia of the church built in Constantinople to house it, commemorated on 4 May, are both absent from our calendar.⁹⁰

3 November (f. 39r): The enkainia of the church of Saint George at Lydda and deposition of the saint's body. This most probably refers to the consecration of the late antique church and not to that of one of its medieval successors: demolished at the orders of al-Hakim in the early eleventh century, the church was soon restored, and rebuilt once more during the twelfth century, probably around 1150–70. In 1191 Saladin had at least part of it destroyed.⁹¹ The synaxarion

⁸⁹ Its liturgical prescriptions require a separate study, which will only be possible once the text has been edited.

⁹⁰ Eastern Orthodox Church, *Synaxarium*, 146, 658 (above, n. 85). They are also omitted from the calendar of the Evergetis synaxarion (J. E. Klentos, "Byzantine Liturgy in Twelfth-Century

Constantinople: An Analysis of the Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis [Codex Athens Ethnike Bibliothekē 788]" [Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1995], 81). The typikon of the Great Church commemorates the translation on 4 May (Mateos, *Typicon*, 280–82). On the year of the translation (ca. 900) and

Lazaros's cult in Cyprus, see R. Jenkins, B. Laourdas, and C. Mango, "Nine Orations of Arethas from Cod. marc. gr. 524," *BZ* 47 (1954): 6–11, and C. Walter, "Lazarus a Bishop," *REB* 27 (1969): 200–2.

⁹¹ Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 2: 9–27 (above, n. 50).

of Constantinople does not include the consecration until the post-Byzantine period,⁹² while the typikon of the Great Church omits it altogether.⁹³ It does, however, appear as a minor feast in the list of important feastdays compiled by Nikon of the Black Mountain.⁹⁴ It is also included in Georgian synaxaria of Palestinian origin from the later tenth century and in Melkite calendars, starting with the Sinait. Arab. 417 (copied in Damietta in 1095).⁹⁵ As we shall see below, there are further links between the typikon and the Melkite tradition.

6 November (f. 40r): Saint Demetrianos of Kythrea (Chytroi, very near Koutsovendis). As in the previous case, Demetrianos appears only in late versions of the Constantinopolitan synaxaria.⁹⁶

27 November (f. 52v): Hosios Palladios. The Constantinopolitan synaxarion commemorates Palladios, known from Theodoret of Cyrillus, on 28 January. On that day the typikon, like that of the Great Church, has only Ephraim the Syrian (f. 107v).⁹⁷ The Melkite calendars, however, celebrate Palladios's memory on 27 November, too, and demonstrate that the homonymous *hosioi* in the two traditions are one and the same person, for in both cases Palladios's main feat is said to have been the resurrection of a merchant whom he was accused of murdering.⁹⁸

9 December (f. 56r–60v): Enkainia of Saint John Chrysostomos of Koutsovendis.⁹⁹ On this day some thirteenth-century and later typika from Palestine appear to celebrate the enkainia of Saint Sabas (Mar Saba). It would seem, though, that these derive directly or indirectly from the Koutsovendis typikon (and not the other way round) for, as we shall see shortly, in some cases the copyist expresses his lack of comprehension about this stipulation, which is perfectly clear in the Par. gr. 402. Of course only a full study of these manuscripts will

92 Eastern Orthodox Church, *Synaxarium*, 189–192 and note on 3 Nov. For example the 12th-c. Par. gr. 1591 has the enkainia added in a later marginal note, perhaps written in Cyprus (Darrouzès, “Autres manuscrits,” 153 [above, n. 7]). On epigraphic evidence from Syria implying the celebration of the enkainia on this day as early as the 7th c., see S. Bénay, “Quelques inscriptions chrétiennes,” *EO* 4 (1900–1901): 95.

93 So does the Evergetis calendar (Klentos, “Byzantine Liturgy,” 81; Mateos, *Le typicon*, 88 [above, n. 54]).

94 Yiangou, *Nikwv*, 243 (above, n. 14).

95 G. Garitte, *Le calendrier palestino-georgien du sinaïticus 34 (Xe siècle)* (Brussels, 1958), 374–75, and J.-M. Sauget, *Premières recherches sur l'origine et les caractéristiques des synaxaires melkites (XIe–XVIIe siècles)* (Brussels, 1969), 41–44, 312–13. Around the time when the Par. gr. 402 was copied, a former bishop of Lydda, Esaias, was appointed archbishop of Cyprus (ca. 1203) (V. Laurent, “La succession épiscopale des derniers archevêques grecs de Chypre, de Jean le Crétois [1152] à Germain Pèsimandros [1260],” *REB* 7 [1949]: 35–37, and J. Richard, “Ἡ σύσταση καὶ οἱ βᾶσεις τοῦ μεσαιωνικοῦ βασιλείου [1192–1205],”

in *Ἱστορία τῆς Κύπρου 4: Μεσαιωνικὸν βασιλεῖον—Ἐνετοκρατία*, ed. T. Papadopoulos [Nicosia, 1995], 1: 14).

96 Eastern Orthodox Church, *Synaxarium*, 198.

97 Ibid., 429–30; Mateos, *Typicon*, 214.

98 Sauget, *Premières recherches*, 318–22.

99 The detailed prescriptions for this celebration were published (not in full) in Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie*, 3: 121–23 (above, n. 11).

afford firm conclusions about their inter-relationship; for our purposes the following preliminary remarks will have to suffice.

The earliest among these documents to contain the 9 December enkainia is the Coisl. 361, which dates from the thirteenth or the fourteenth century. It was written for Saint Sabas and merely adds καὶ τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ ναοῦ to the usual commemoration of the Conception of Saint Anne, without any further information, implying perhaps that it is the consecration of the church at the monastery of Saint Sabas that is celebrated.¹⁰⁰

The text closest to our typikon appears in the fifteenth-century Jer. Sab. 635, which was also written for Saint Sabas (f. 6r).¹⁰¹ Largely based on the Koutsovendis document, it includes the latter's references to Palestinian custom (f. 188r, 192r, 201r–v, 220v; the provision for visiting Saint Euthymios on 20 January is, however, omitted: f. 114r), although their phrasing sometimes implies a community normally resident outside Palestine, which of course makes no sense in the case of Saint Sabas. It also repeats some of the peculiarities regarding the calendar itself (enkainia of Saint George: f. 70v), but there are also minor differences (e.g., Arsenios of Alexandria is omitted on 11 July, but the transfer of Lazaros of Galesion's relic is now included: f. 174v). References blatantly specific to Koutsovendis are left out: the various mnemosyna and the monastery's churches are not mentioned, although a few references to the church of the Holy Trinity have inadvertently crept in (f. 220v, 237v). Two Cypriot bishops who are commemorated in the Par. gr. 402 are also left out (Herakleidios on 17 September, Demetrianos on 6 November). Concerning 9 December, the scribe is very forthright: he omits the detailed prescriptions of the *akolouthia*,¹⁰² admits that the reference to the enkainia is beyond his comprehension, and wonders whether it might pertain to the church of John Chrysostomos at the monastery on Mount "Koutzoubades," concluding that if this is indeed the case then it is unnecessary to perform the *akolouthia* at his own community.¹⁰³

The scribes of two other typika, using a model that included a consecration celebration on 9 December but not the name of the church to which it pertained, were left utterly perplexed. The Sinait. gr. 1109

100 Ibid., 3:130. A 13th-c. date for the manuscript is suggested by R. Devreesse, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs II. Le fonds Coislain* (Paris, 1945), 340.

101 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ιεροσολυμιτική βιβλιοθήκη* (Saint Petersburg, 1894), 2.2: 624–26.

102 The prescriptions for the enkainia of the Evergetis church on December 29 in that monastery's 12th-c. synaxarion are similar

but much less elaborate (R. H. Jordan, *The Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis, September-February* [Belfast, 2000], 368–70).

103 Δεῖ εἶδέναι ὅτι ἡ πόρεται μοι τίνος χάριν ἐνταῦθα ἢ τῶν ἐγκαινίων ἀκολουθία ἐγκείται. Μήποτε οὖν ἔτυχεν γενέσθαι εἰς τοῦτο κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, τοῦ ναοῦ ἐκείνου τῆς μονῆς δηλαδή τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, τοῦ ἰνδρυθέντος κατὰ τὸ

ὅρος τοῦ Κουτζουβάδ(ου), ἐν ἔτει ,ςφϞθ', καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐτυπώθη ψάλλεσθαι κατ' ἐνιαυτόν ἢ τοιαύτη ἀκολουθία καὶ εἰ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἐπάναγκες τελείσθαι ταύτην παρ' ἡμῶν (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ιεροσολυμιτική βιβλιοθήκη*, 2.2: 625–26).

was copied on Crete in 1464 by the priest George Tzengaropoulos, while the sixteenth-century Patmos 555 was written in Palestine. In both cases the scribe was totally unaware of the Koutsovendis connection and suggested that the enkainia might refer to the church at Saint Sabas itself.¹⁰⁴ As we saw above, this is also implied in our first manuscript, the Coisl. 361. The question that arises then, especially in view of the Koutsovendis community's links with Palestine, is whether the selection of 9 December at the Cypriot monastery has anything to do with any celebration at Saint Sabas on that day. But had a consecration been traditionally celebrated there on 9 December, would it have caused so much confusion to the copyists of the Jer. Sab. 635 and the Patmos 555, who were after all writing at Saint Sabas itself? The most compelling evidence for dissociating the enkainia at Koutsovendis from any similar celebration on the same day at Saint Sabas comes from earlier typika written at the latter, as for example the twelfth-century Sinait. gr. 1096, which on 9 December has the feast of Saint Anne and nothing more. What is more, we know from Cyril of Skythopolis that the two main churches at the Great Laura of Saint Sabas, the *Theoktistos* and that of the Theotokos, were consecrated on 12 December (of 490) and 1 July (of 501), respectively.¹⁰⁵ Had any enkainia celebration been taking place in the medieval period at Mar Saba, one would expect it to be on one of these dates. But as far as one can tell from the published material, this was not the case.¹⁰⁶

What the evidence from these manuscripts suggests is that by the thirteenth century the typikon of Koutsovendis, or a copy of it, somehow found its way to Palestine, where it served as the prototype for liturgical calendars there.¹⁰⁷ This is surprising, to say the least, for the monasteries of the Judean desert had their own long tradition and one cannot think of a reason why they would rely on a liturgical typikon from elsewhere. This matter of course requires further investigation, beyond the scope of the present study. The transmission of texts across the sea in itself is nevertheless not surprising: there is no lack of evidence concerning either the movement of manuscripts from Cyprus to Palestine during the same period, or the links of the monastery of Saint Sabas with the island,¹⁰⁸ where it is known to have

¹⁰⁴ Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie*, 3: 229–30, 392 (above, n. 11).

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 3: 35; E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis* (Leipzig, 1939), 104, 117. On the archaeological evidence, see Patrich, *Sabas*, 69–75 (above, n. 46).

¹⁰⁶ It is therefore somewhat surprising that the Georgian calendar, which of course has Palestinian origins, appears to be the only one to commemorate a consecration at

Saint Sabas on 12 December (earliest manuscripts: 10th c.) (Garitte, *Le calendrier*, 408 [above, n. 95]).

¹⁰⁷ As mentioned earlier, there are no marginal notes to provide information about the history of the manuscript.

¹⁰⁸ A 10th/11th-c. seal of the laura was found in the region of Limassol (Metcalf, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, 389 no. 495 [above, n. 28]).

possessed three villages by the mid-sixteenth century.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, as we saw above, a former monk of Koutsovendis became patriarch of Jerusalem in the mid-twelfth century, while the Holy Sepulcher owned extensive properties on the island. These links surely provided plenty of opportunities for manuscripts to travel.

So, to return to the enkainia, as the evidence stands, it would seem that the selection of 9 December for the consecration of the monastery of Saint John Chrysostomos was not related to any outside factor but perhaps only to George's personal choice. It is not known whether he had any special devotion to Saint Anne. Because there are no relevant clues, this issue must therefore remain unresolved.¹¹⁰

The remaining peculiarities in the typikon calendar concern primarily the inclusion or omission of particular commemorations:

28 January (f. 107v): Ephraim the Syrian (see 27 November above).

9 February: Philagrios of Cyprus, commemorated in the Constantinopolitan tradition on this day, is absent from the Koutsovendis calendar.¹¹¹

17 February: Auxibios, bishop of Soloi in Cyprus, who is commemorated on this day in the Constantinopolitan calendars, does not figure in the Koutsovendis typikon.¹¹²

109 Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 31–34 (above, n. 24); A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ανάλεκτα Γεωσολυμιτικής Σταχυολογίας* (Saint Petersburg, 1891–98), 4: 473. For a manuscript copied in 1334 on Cyprus by the monk Gabriel of Saint Sabas see Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Γεωσολυμιτική βιβλιοθήκη*, 2.2: 717 (above, n. 101). The unsubstantiated claim of Papadopoulos-Kerameus that Koutsovendis was a dependency of Saint Sabas (repeated by S. Vailhé in “Le monastère de Saint-Sabas,” *ÉO* 3 [1900]: 172–73, and, more recently, by J. Patrich, “The Sabaite Heritage: An Introductory Survey,” in *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. J. Patrich [Leuven, 2001], 5) seems to be based on this reference and on the later status of the monastery as a metochion of the Holy Sepulcher.

110 It may be of some significance that in the early part of the ecclesiastical year (September–December), between the days

preceding the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross and following Christmas, the enkainia of the church of the Anastasis in Jerusalem were celebrated, most notably, as in our typikon, on 13 September, according to the Constantinopolitan and Palestinian tradition, but also on two Sundays in November in the Jacobite calendar, and on four consecutive Sundays in November and December in the Nestorian calendar (Eastern Orthodox Church, *Synaxarium*, 42 [above, n. 85]; Sauget, *Premières recherches*, 117, 234 [above, n. 95]; Garitte, *Le calendrier*, 90 [above, n. 95]; M. Black, “The Festival of Encaenia Ecclesiae in the Ancient Church with Special Reference to Palestine and Syria,” *JEH* 5 [1954]: 78–85). The founder and the community at Koutsovendis would have been aware that various traditions celebrated the enkainia during this period, which may have possibly affected their choice for the consecration of their own church.

111 Eastern Orthodox Church, *Synaxarium*, 454; Mateos, *Typicon*, 228. The Evergetis typikon also omits Philagrios (Klentos, “Byzantine Liturgy,” 84 [above, n. 90]).

112 Eastern Orthodox Church, *Synaxarium*, 469; Mateos, *Typicon*, 234. The same observation made in the previous note concerning the Evergetis calendar applies to this case too. Auxibios also appears in the Georgian calendar, but on 19 February (Garitte, *Le calendrier*, 162).

24 February (f. 116r): Invention (discovery) of the head of John the Baptist. The Constantinopolitan and Melkite synaxaria commemorate on this day both the First and Second Invention.¹¹³ Like our typikon (f. 155r), they celebrate the Third Invention on 25 May.¹¹⁴ According to the Georgian and (much later) Maronite calendars, however, the February commemoration signals the Second Invention, while the First is celebrated on 26 October.¹¹⁵ The latter is absent from both our document and the Melkite and Constantinopolitan calendars.

5 March (f. 119r): a certain martyr Nikon. Since no martyr with this name appears to be commemorated anywhere on this day, we may cautiously assume that this is probably a mistake for Konon the Gardener, whose memory is celebrated in the Constantinopolitan calendar on this day.¹¹⁶

25 May (f. 155r): Third Invention of the head of John the Baptist (see under 24 February above).

27 May (f. 155r): Holy martyr Therapon. Two homonymous martyrs, a priest from Sardis and a bishop on Cyprus, are commemorated on the previous days (25 and 26 May), according to the Constantinopolitan synaxaria, which add that the latter's relic was translated from the island to Constantinople at the time of the Arab raids. It is not clear which one our typikon celebrates. Other calendars also commemorate "the holy martyr Therapon" on dates preceding that of our typikon. The Melkite tradition, however, has the same date as our document.¹¹⁷

June 13 (f. 157v): Triphyllios bishop of Leukosia in Cyprus (Τριφυλλίου ἐπισκόπου Λευκοῦ τῆς ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ). The Constantinopolitan calendars

113 Eastern Orthodox Church, *Synaxarium*, 485–87; Mateos, *Typicon*, 238–40; Sauget, *Premières recherches*, 137, 258.

114 Eastern Orthodox Church, *Synaxarium*, 707; Mateos, *Typicon*, 299; Sauget, *Premières recherches*, 148; the Third Invention appears in the Evergetis calendar too (Klentos, "Byzantine Liturgy," 84). On the complicated issue of the three Inventions, see C. Walter, "The Invention of John the Baptist's Head in the Wall-calendar at Gračanica. Its Place in Byzantine Iconographical Tradition," *ZbLkUmët/Recherches sur l'art* 16 (1980): 73. The fate of the Baptist's relics in both Byzantium and

the West was examined in considerable detail by C. Ducange in his *Traité historique du chef de S. Jean Baptiste, contenant une discussion exacte de ce que les Auteurs anciens & modernes en ont écrit, & particulièrement de ses trois Inventions* (Paris, 1665).

115 Garitte, *Le calendrier*, 51, 100, 165, 368; J.-M. Sauget, "Le calendrier maronite du manuscrit Vatican Syriaque 313," *OCP* 33 (1967): 237, 257, 275. The Maronite calendar, of which the earliest surviving specimens date from the 16th c., commemorates the Second Invention on 25 rather than 24 February; the Georgian synaxaria on the other hand ignore the May commemoration of the Third Invention.

116 Eastern Orthodox Church, *Synaxarium*, 511–12.

117 Eastern Orthodox Church, *Synaxarium*, 710; Mateos, *Typicon*, 298; Sauget, "Le calendrier maronite," 275; Sauget, *Premières recherches*, 148; Garitte, *Le calendrier*, 233. On Therapon see H. Delehay, "Saints de Chypre," *AB* 26 (1907): 247–49, and C. Kyrris, "The 'Three Hundred Alaman Saints' of Cyprus: Problems of Origin and Identity: A Summary," in *The Sweet Land of Cyprus*, 207–12 (above, n. 26).

ignore his see and celebrate his memory on 12 June instead, while the Georgian synaxaria maintain the same date as our typikon.¹¹⁸

11 July (f. 166r): The killing of Arsenios, patriarch of Alexandria (τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ Ἀρσενίου πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας ἢ σφαγῇ). Arsenios is not commemorated in the Constantinopolitan calendars, and rather surprisingly he is also ignored by the Melkite synaxaria. He served as patriarch from 1000 to 1010, when, according to Yahya of Antioch, he was put to death at the orders of al-Hakim.¹¹⁹ In that Yahya's chronological indications are not entirely concordant (he gives two dates that correspond to 4 July and 7 July), it is possible that the date given by our typikon should be preferred. The community showed interest in Arsenios perhaps because he also acted as patriarch of Jerusalem during the see's vacancy following the death in Constantinople of the patriarch Orestes (986–1006).¹²⁰

16 August (f. 181v–182r): Transfer of the Mandyllion of Edessa to Constantinople. On this occasion the typikon prescribes readings from a certain *hypomnema* of the Holy Mandyllion (ἀναγνώσεις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ ὑπομνήματος τοῦ ἁγίου μανδylίου). It is unclear whether this refers to the *Diegesis* composed after the relic reached Constantinople in 944, or to some other text.¹²¹

One would expect a calendar of saints used in a monastery on Cyprus to place particular emphasis on martyrs and saintly bishops linked to the island. This is definitely not the case with our document, though: the most prominent such saints who appear in the Constantinopolitan calendars (although by no means all) are indeed included, but there is clearly no discernible Cypriot bias. More important, the above commentary on some of its contents has shown that it bears certain affinities with calendars directly stemming from the Palestinian tradition. This is of course not surprising in view of the evidence presented above about the background of the founder George and the relations of the Koutsovendis community with the monasteries of Palestine. Indeed, it provides yet another strong indication of their close links.

118 Eastern Orthodox Church, *Synaxarium*, 748; Mateos, *Typicon*, 312; Garitte, *Le calendrier*, 251. Triphyllios is absent from the Melkite calendars and from the Evergetis synaxarion.

119 I. Kratchkovsky and A. Vasiliev, *Histoire de Yahya-ibn-Said d'Antioche*,

PO 23 (Paris, 1932), 462, 496; see also B. Pirone, trans., *Yahya al-Antaki, Cronache dell'Egitto fatimide e dell'impero bizantino (937–1033)* (Milan, 1998), 243, 253.

120 I. Kratchkovsky and A. Vasiliev, *Histoire de Yahya-ibn-Said d'Antioche*, PO 18 (Paris, 1924), 105 (Pirone, *Yahya*, 115–16).

121 A. Cameron, "The History of the Image of Edessa: The Telling of a Story," in *Okeanos: Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students*, ed. C. Mango and O. Pritsak (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 91–93. The text is published in PG 113: 424–53.

The Patron Eumathios Philokales

Two inscriptions preserved on the eastern piers of the northern church at Koutsovendis, the Holy Trinity of the typikon, state that it was built by Eumathios Philokales. Although Eumathios is known from several other sources, these inscriptions are the sole testimony of his involvement with our monastery. The commemoration in the typikon mentions his family name only, giving no further information concerning his relationship with Koutsovendis. His career has been discussed on several occasions¹²² but, since some new data have been added to the dossier, it may be desirable to present once again the facts that are known about him.

Eumathios belonged to a family that rose to prominence in government service toward the middle of the eleventh century and retained it until the Latin conquest of Constantinople.¹²³ The first Philokales mentioned in our sources is that embodiment of upward mobility whose career is castigated in the Novel of 996 (Christian name not given). Born a simple villager, he rose to the positions of *hebdomadarios* (palace servitor), *koitonites* (chamberlain), and finally *protovestiarios* (head of the emperor's private *vestiarium*), while using his influence to acquire his native village. He had his properties confiscated and was returned to his original status by order of Basil II. The offices of *koitonites* and *protovestiarios* indicate that Philokales was a eunuch.¹²⁴ It is not, however, certain that he was related to the Philokales clan that emerged some seventy years later. As will become obvious below, although a dozen Philokalai are attested in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it is impossible to reconstruct even a

122 C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "Report on Field Work in Istanbul and Cyprus, 1962–1963," *DOP* 18 (1964): 335–39; Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 1: 299–304 (above, n. 4); A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204* (Paris, 1951), 197–99; R. Guiland, "Etudes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. Les chefs de la marine byzantine: Drongaire de la flotte, grand drongaire de la flotte, duc de la flotte, mégaduc," *BZ* 44 (1951): 224–25; V. Laurent, *Les sceaux byzantins du médailler Vatican* (Vatican, 1962), 55–58; E. A. Vranousi, *Βυζαντινά έγγραφα της μονής Πάτμου*, 3 vols. (Athens, 1980), 1: 52*–54*; B. Skoulatos, *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade: Analyse prosopographique et synthèse* (Leuven, 1980), 79–82; E. Malamut, *Les îles de l'empire byzantin, VIIIe–XIIIe siècles*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1988), 2: 507–8. In that certain erroneous statements concerning Eumathios tend to be

repeated, it is worth pointing out that he nonetheless has no connection with the Cretan inscription published by S. N. Marinatos, "Εὐμάθιος ὁ Φιλοκάλης, τελευταῖος στρατηγὸς τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ θέματος Κρήτης," *Επ. Ετ. Βυζ. Σπ.* 7 (1930): 388–93, as already shown by V. Laurent, "Bulletin de sigillographie byzantine 1930," *Byzantion* 6 (1931): 801–2, and D. Zakythinos, "Μελέται περὶ τῆς διοικητικῆς διαιρέσεως καὶ τῆς ἐπαρχιακῆς διοικήσεως ἐν τῷ βυζαντινῷ κράτει," *Επ. Ετ. Βυζ. Σπ.* 17 (1941): 265–67; and he was not present at the Blachernai synod, as claimed by Laurent.

123 A. P. Kazhdan and A. Cutler, "Philokales," *ODB* 3: 1656. In the 16th c. the noble clans of Cyprus were said to include the "Bisascas ou Philocaliens" (Lusignan, *Description*, f. 82v. [above, n. 59]); it is unlikely, however, that this family, which is not attested in other sources from the island

for this period, was descended from the Byzantine Philokalai; for the fate of the Byzantine magnates of Cyprus after 1191 and the rise of local Greek families in later centuries, see A. Nicolaou-Konnari, "Greeks," in *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191–1374*, ed. A. Nicolaou-Konnari and C. Schabel (Leiden, 2005), 41–57. Note also that W. H. Rudt de Collenberg in the tables accompanying his "Δομή καὶ προέλευση τῆς τάξεως τῶν εὐγενῶν," Papadopoulos, *Ιστορία*, 4, 1: 855 (above, n. 95) suggests that the Bisaces may have been of Catalan origin (cf. n. 221).

124 J. and P. Zepos, eds., *Jus graecoromanum*, 8 vols. (Athens, 1931), 1: 265. It is conceivable that he may have come from Paphlagonia, where it was customary to castrate male children in the hope of obtaining palatine service for them; see, for example, Eastern Orthodox Church, *Synaxarium*, 721 (above, n. 85).

partial genealogy of the family, since the blood relationship between these individuals remains unknown.

In 1066 we meet Andronikos Philokales, military governor (*katepano*) of the province of Bulgaria, who acted as imperial representative in the rather obscure revolt of the people of Larissa in which Nikoulitzas the younger was implicated.¹²⁵ An eleventh-century seal of an Andronikos Philokales, *vestarches* and *katepano*, presumably belongs to the military governor of Bulgaria.¹²⁶ Contemporary with our Eumathios was the *protonobelissimos* and *epi tou kanikleiou* Manuel Philokales, who took part in the conciliar session held at the Blachernai palace in late 1094, surely the same who in June of the same year had warned Alexios I of the treasonable intentions of Nikephoros Diogenes.¹²⁷ The seal of a Manuel Philokales who held the dignity of *proedros* may belong either to a namesake or to the same person from an earlier stage in his career.¹²⁸ The Blachernai meeting was attended by yet another Philokales, the prefect of Constantinople Michael, whose family name, although omitted from the acts, is securely attested in the sigillographic record.¹²⁹ A few other members of the family in this period are known exclusively from their seals: the *strategos* Nikephoros Philokales, the *protospatharios*, *hypatos*, and later *vestarches* John Philokales, and a *proedrissa* and later (?) nun Eudokia Philokalina.¹³⁰ An otherwise unknown member of the family (or one of the above?) appears to have founded the monastery of the Pantokrator τοῦ Φιλοκάλου or Φιλοκάλλου at Thessalonike at some unrecorded date before 1112.¹³¹

125 G. G. Litavrin, *Sovety i rasskazy Kekavmena: Sochinenie vizant. polkovodtsa XI v.* (Moscow, 1972), 264, 544 n. 1003 (also in B. Wassiliewsky and J. Jernstedt, *Cecaumeni Strategicon: Et incerti scriptoris De officiis regis libellus* [Saint Petersburg, 1896], 72); see also P. Lemerle, *Prolégomènes à une édition critique et commentée des "Conseils et Récits" de Kékauménos* (Brussels, 1960), 21–22 n. 4, 41–56; and Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations* (above, n. 4), 72. For the date of his appointment (1065), see N. Banescu, "Ein neuer κατεπάνω Βουλγαρίας," *BZ* 25 (1925): 331–32, and Banescu, *Les duchés byzantins de Paristrion (Paradounavon) et de Bulgarie* (Bucharest, 1946), 144.

126 Two specimens, found at Preslav and near Sirmium (I. Iordanov, *Pechatite ot strategiiata v Preslav (971–1088)* [Sofia, 1993], 160–61 no. 323, and L. Maksimović and M. Popović, "Les sceaux byzantins de la région

danubienne en Serbie," *SBS* 3 [1993]: 117–18 no. 3; see also Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier*, 137 [above, n. 52]).

127 P. Gautier, "Le synode des Blachernes (fin 1094). Étude prosopographique," *REB* 29 (1971): 241; text in PG 127:972D; *Alexiad*, 9.2, ed. D. R. Reinsch and A. Kambylis, *Annae Comnenae Alexias* (Berlin, 2001), 1: 268 (ed. B. Leib, *Anne Comnène, Alexiade* [Paris, 1945], 2: 170). See also n. 149 below.

128 J.-C. Cheynet, C. Morrisson, and W. Seibt, *Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Henri Seyrig* (Paris, 1991), 50–51 no. 52, and DOC no. 47.2.1245.

129 Gautier, "Le Synode," 241–42; he appears as *proedros* and *mystikos*, and then as *protoproedros*, *eparchos*, and *mystikos* (C. Stavrakos, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel mit Familiennamen aus der Sammlung des Numismatischen Museums Athen* [Wiesbaden, 2000], 396–98 no. 270; V. Laurent, *Corpus des sceaux*, vol. 2.

L'administration centrale [Paris, 1981], 54–55 no. 122, 567–68 no. 1033).

130 Strategos: Iordanov, *Pechatite*, 180 no. 373; protospatharios, hypatos, and vestarches: W. Seibt, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich* (Vienna, 1978), 283; another seal of a John Philokales may belong to this or to another homonymous individual (*SBS* 6 [1999]: 124 no. 1243); proedrissa: Iordanov, *Pechatite*, 189–90 no. 396, and Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, 282–83 no. 149.

131 Its hegumen Hilarion is attested in a sale document of that year: N. Oikonomides, *Actes de Docheiariou: Édition diplomatique* (Paris, 1984), 68; see also Janin, *Grands Centres*, 418–19 (above, n. 34), and P. Magdalino, "Byzantine Churches and Monasteries in Thessalonica," *REB* 35 (1977): 282.

More Philokalai are attested in the decades preceding the Latin conquest of Constantinople. A Philokales (Christian name not given) commanded a contingent of the Byzantine army during the Hungarian campaign of 1167 and is perhaps identical to the Philokales who is later attested as *doux* of Dalmatia.¹³² A second Eumathios Philokales, described as a very rich man, was prefect of Constantinople under Alexios III and was sent in 1196–97 on an embassy to the German emperor Henry VI.¹³³ He is probably to be identified with the Philokales or Philokalios who was father-in-law of Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos and was appointed by him *logothetes ton sekreton* upon the dismissal from that post of the historian Niketas Choniates (1204).¹³⁴ A third Eumathios Philokales is attested by his seal, whose inscription describes him as a secretary (*grammatikos*) and grandfather of a *sebastos*.¹³⁵

The evidence for officials bearing the name Philokales after 1204 is more problematic. A Philokales (Christian name unknown) is mentioned with the title *megas doux* in 1214 or 1215, when he sent a letter to the patriarch Theodoros II Eirenikos at Nicaea concerning the affairs of the Orthodox population of Constantinople.¹³⁶ There is little doubt that this Philokales was a Byzantine who presumably remained in the city. What is less certain is the identity of the owner of a seal from the same period (early thirteenth century): its obverse bears a standing figure of a saint identified by a Greek inscription as Nicholas, while the reverse shows a shield flanked by two stars and a Greek abbreviation for *megas doux* surrounded by the circular Latin inscription *Sigillum Filocari megadoucis*. Could this be the same as the patriarch's correspondent? Another piece of evidence may suggest otherwise: in the wake of the establishment of the Latin empire we hear of a Philocalus Navigaioso who had acquired the island of Lemnos and to whom the title of *megadux* was bestowed by the (Latin) emperor.¹³⁷ It is highly unlikely that Navigaioso had anything

132 Ioannis Cinnami *Epitome*, 271. See also F. Chalandon, *Jean II Comnène (1118–1143) et Manuel I Comnène (1143–1180)* (Paris, 1912), 489–90, and Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier*, 262 (above, n. 52).

133 *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1835), 630–31; Theodore Skoutariotes in C. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, 7 vols. (Venice, 1872–94), 7: 419; Mango and Hawkins, “Report,” 336 (above, n. 122). See also F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*, vol. 2, 1025–1204, rev. ed. P. Wirth (Munich, 1995), 2: 323 no. 1638; Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, 315–16 no. 173 (above, n.

130); and J.-C. Cheynet, “Les sceaux du musée d’Iznik,” *REB* 49 (1991): 234–35.

134 Nicetas, 749; Skoutariotes in Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, 7: 445. See also Laurent, *Sceaux byzantins*, 55–56 (above, n. 122), and R. Guiland, “Les logothètes. Etudes sur l’histoire administrative de l’empire byzantin,” *REB* 29 (1971): 84.

135 Laurent, *Corpus des sceaux*, vol. 2, *L’administration centrale*, 667 no. 1192 (above, n. 129).

136 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, “Θεόδωρος Εἰρηνικός, πατριάρχης οἰκουμενικός ἐν Νίκαιᾳ,” *BZ* 10 (1901): 189; it has been suggested that he may be identical

with the prefect Eumathios and with the *logothetes* attested in 1204 (V. Grumel, V. Laurent, and J. Darrouzès, *Les registres des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople* [Paris, 1932–79], 1.4: 26).

137 Spink Auction 132: *Byzantine Seals from the Collection of George Zacos*, part 2 (London, 25 May 1999), 25 no. 160 [by J.-C. Cheynet]. On Navigaioso, see G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte: Venedig*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1856–57), 2: 3, and B. Hendrickx, “Les institutions de l’empire Latin de Constantinople (1204–1261): La cour et les dignitaires,” *Βυζαντινά* 9 (1977): 210.

to do with the Byzantine Philokalai; and the heraldic emblem on the seal, much more than the Latin inscription, suggests that it probably belongs to the Western lord of Lemnos rather than the correspondent of the patriarch.

Our Eumathios Philokales, whose relationship to the other Philokalai of Constantinople is not known, makes his first appearance in the historical record in 1092 in Euboea, where he received Christodoulos of Patmos. The latter had fled to Euripos from his newly founded monastery because of the threat posed by the raids of Çaka (Tzachas), the Turkish emir of Smyrna who had built a fleet and was ravaging the Aegean islands and the west coast of Asia Minor.¹³⁸ The source that relates this incident, the encomium of Christodoulos by Athanasios, patriarch of Antioch (1157–70), refers to Eumathios without his family name, but there can be little doubt that it was Philokales. He is described as “that famous man, conspicuous by his worldly distinction” (ὁ πολὺς ἐκεῖνός καὶ τῇ κατὰ κόσμον περιφανείᾳ περιβλεπτός),¹³⁹ as “exercising the rule of the western parts” (τῶν δυτικῶν μερῶν ἀρχὴν διέπων) and as an “old friend and spiritual son of the Saint” (πάλαι συνήθης καὶ παῖς πεφυκῶς κατὰ πνεῦμα τῷ μακαρίῳ).¹⁴⁰ This latter piece of information may suggest that Eumathios, like Christodoulos, was perhaps a native of Bithynia, or possibly that he had served in the region of Mount Latros, where Christodoulos spent a large part of his earlier monastic life.¹⁴¹ On Euboea Christodoulos received the help he expected, including a cargo ship loaded with wheat. It has been suggested that Eumathios was at the time the civilian governor (*praitor*) of Greece and the Peloponnese,¹⁴² but the evidence is slim; he could as well have been military governor.

We hear again about Eumathios soon thereafter, in the context of military operations undertaken by Alexios I. The main threat the emperor had to face was the one that had forced Christodoulos out of Patmos: the raids of Çaka. During the same period Crete and Cyprus had also revolted in the sense that officials posted there had made themselves independent of imperial authority; as we saw in the previous section, this happened before February/March 1091, perhaps in 1090 (or possibly earlier?). To counter these developments Alexios

138 The departure of Christodoulos from Patmos is dated to 1092 by Vranousi, *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα*, 1: 51*–53* (above, n. 122) (he is attested on Patmos in March 1091). In that he died in Euripos in March 1093, his meeting with Eumathios must have taken place during the preceding months.

139 The use of ἐκεῖνος probably also implies that Eumathios was dead at the time of writing (after 1143).

140 K. Voines, *Ἀκολουθία ἱερὰ τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ θεοφόρου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Χριστοδούλου τοῦ θαυματουργοῦ*, 3rd ed. (Athens, 1884), 151, and E. Vranousi, *Τὰ ἀγιολογικὰ κείμενα τοῦ ὁσίου Χριστοδούλου* (Athens, 1966), 60–61.

141 A possible link between the region of Bithynia and a later Philokales (the late-12th-c. prefect Eumathios) has been tentatively suggested by Cheynet in “Les sceaux du musée d’Iznik,” 235 (above, n. 133).

142 Vranousi, *Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα*, 1: 52*–54*.

built a fleet which he placed under the command of his brother-in-law John Doukas,¹⁴³ on whom the title of *megas doux* was conferred. Doukas concentrated his ships at Euripos in preparation for sailing to Crete.¹⁴⁴ This is usually thought to have occurred in the course of 1092, primarily because of its place in the narrative provided by Anna Komnene.¹⁴⁵ A recent and thorough investigation of the source evidence, however, has shown that the dating implied by the sequence of events in the *Alexiad* is not always to be trusted.

Using primarily the information concerning the career of John Doukas, Peter Frankopan argues convincingly that he cannot have been sent against the emir before 1094.¹⁴⁶ The duration of this campaign is not known but, following his successes in western Asia Minor, Doukas proceeded first to Constantinople before heading for the islands. Because he is attested in the capital toward the end of the year, attending the synod of Blachernai, it is possible that his campaign against Çaka took place shortly before the synod. This was also attended by an unspecified number of bishops from Cyprus and their (unnamed) metropolitan.¹⁴⁷ If the above sequence of events is indeed correct, then the island was presumably still in the hands of the rebel at that time. Nevertheless, the anomalous situation does not appear to have prevented the prelates from making the journey, although of course it is not known whether they traveled to the capital on purpose or if they had already been there (having perhaps fled their sees earlier?). We should also remember that the journey of John Oxeites some three years earlier from Constantinople to Cyprus and then from there to Antioch seems to have been unaffected too. Rhapsomates' rebellion must have had little impact on communications between the island and the outside world.

Doukas soon left for Euboea in preparation for his expedition to the islands. Crete was dealt with first and without much ado, for the rebel Karykes was slain by the islanders themselves. The situation in Cyprus required more effort, for the rebel there, Rhapsomates, was captured only after first attempting to negotiate and then engaging in battle the expeditionary force commanded by Doukas and Manuel

143 D. I. Polemis, *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (London, 1968), 66–70.

144 Reported in the Life of Meletios of Myoupolis (Vasil'evskii, "Βίος Μελετίου τοῦ νέου," 27–28 [above, n. 43]).

145 See, for example, P. Gautier, "Défection et soumission de la Crète sous Alexis Ier Comnène," *REB* 35 (1977): 215–27 and, more recently, A. Savvides, "Can We Refer to a Concerted Action among

Rapsomates, Caryces and the Emir Tzachas between A.D. 1091 and 1093?," *Byzantion* 70 (2000): 122–34.

146 P. Frankopan, "Challenges to Imperial Authority in Byzantium: Revolts on Crete and Cyprus at the End of the 11th c.," *Byzantion* 74 (2004): 382–402, and, on Doukas, Frankopan, "The Imperial Governors of Dyrrakhion in the Reign of Alexios I Komnenos," *BMGS* 26 (2002): 65–103.

147 Gautier, "Le synode," 217, 219, 270–72 (above, n. 127). It may be significant that, with the notable exception of Niketas of Mytilene, no prelates from the region affected by Çaka's raids, from the main sees of the eastern Aegean and the west coast of Asia Minor (Smyrna, Ephesos, Miletos, Rhodes), nor any from Crete are recorded in the synodal list.

Boutoumites.¹⁴⁸ Bearing in mind the amount of time Doukas spent fighting Çaka, returning to Constantinople, and preparing the fleet in Euboea, we may assume that a considerable length of time may have lapsed until Rhapsomates (who is generally assumed to have been governor, but whose position is not defined in the sources)¹⁴⁹ was finally subdued. This may therefore have taken place as late as 1095, or perhaps even later. Thus Cyprus, like Crete, may have remained in rebel hands for perhaps as many as five years, or possibly even longer.

Following the suppression of the revolt of Rhapsomates, the emperor decided to overhaul the administration of Cyprus by appointing a civil governor (κριτής καὶ ἐξισωτής) in the person of a certain Kalliparios, a man of proven ability, and a military commander (στρατοπεδάρχης) in the person of Eumathios Philokales, who was given ships of war and cavalry to maintain security. The designation *stratopedarch* does not appear to have corresponded to any established rank¹⁵⁰ and so may imply an extraordinary command, unless it is merely a generic term used by Anna Komnene. The date of Eumathios's arrival on Cyprus (1095?) and the length of his stay there are not known. He may have been involved in the expedition of a Byzantine fleet of twenty-two vessels from Cyprus to the Syrian coast, when Laodicea was attacked on August 19 of 1097.¹⁵¹ He is securely attested again on the island, with the title of doux, in 1099, when he was directed to take possession from Raymond de Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse, of the towns of Maraqiya (Maraclea) and Banyas on the

148 Manuel Boutoumites is reported in later (Cypriot) sources to have served as doux of the island and to have been involved with the foundation of Kykko (Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, *Λεοντίου Μαχαίρα Χρονικό της Κύπρου*, 86–87 (ed. Dawkins, *Leontios Makhairas*, 1: 36–38 [above, n.28]), and C. N. Constantinides, *Ἡ Διήγησις τῆς θαυματουργῆς εἰκόνας τῆς Θεοτόκου Ἐλεούσας τοῦ Κύκκου* (Nicosia, 2002). See also Papacostas, “Byzantine Cyprus,” 1: 110–12 (above, n. 4).

149 Skoulatos, *Les personnages*, 271 (above, n. 122), goes beyond the evidence in calling him doux of Cyprus. He may have been *krites* or *kourator* (Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 97 [above, n. 4], and detailed discussion in D. Kourbetes, “Ἡ στάση του Ραψομάτη στην Κύπρο ἐπὶ Ἀλεξίου Α΄ Κομνηνοῦ [περ. 1091–1093],” *Βυζαντινά* 20 [2000]: 187–94). Frankopan, “Challenges,” discusses the possibility that he may be identical with Nikephoros Diogenes.

150 *Alexiad*, IX.ii.4, Reinsch and Kambylis, 1: 263 (ed. Leib, 2: 164 [above, n. 127]); R. Guiland, “Etudes sur l’histoire administrative de l’empire byzantin. Le stratopédarque et le grand stratopédarque,” *BZ* 46 (1953): 67–68. On the other hand, seals of Isaac Komnenos (shortly before 1055) and of the doux of Antioch Romanos Skleros (ca. 1057) describe them as στρατοπεδάρχης τῆς Ἀνατολῆς (G. Zacos and A. Vegler, *Byzantine Lead Seals I* [Basel, 1972], 3: 1453–54 no. 2680; J.-C. Cheynet, *Sceaux de la collection Zacos [Bibliothèque nationale de France] se rapportant aux provinces orientales de l’Empire byzantin* [Paris, 2001], 20–22 no. 5).

151 This incident is reported in a much later source, Kamal al-Din (Ibn al-Adim), in *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Historiens Orientaux* 3:578.

Syrian coast.¹⁵² He also then established a garrison at Laodicea.¹⁵³ In the same year (August/September?), he beat off a Pisan fleet that had descended on Cyprus to pillage.¹⁵⁴ It is not known whether Eumathios remained on the island throughout the latter half of the 1090s, or whether he left and returned as *doux* shortly before 1099. Nor can we tell if he played any role in the collection of funds said to have been sent from Cyprus to Jerusalem to ransom the Holy Sepulcher, threatened by the Muslims during the Crusader advance into Palestine. In 1102–3 he was ordered to use his ships to help Raymond with the construction of the fortress of Mont-Pèlerin overlooking Tripoli.¹⁵⁵ Anna Komnene's chronology is confused concerning these events too, but if it is true, as she implies, that Eumathios was responsible for the construction of Mont-Pèlerin, we can only conclude that he was serving in Cyprus until 1102/3, when he was replaced as *doux* by Constantine Katakalon, whom we find in office at the time of the

¹⁵² *Alexiad*, XI.vii.4, Reinsch and Kambylis, 1: 343–44 (ed. Leib, 3: 34).

¹⁵³ Cafari, *De liberatione civitatum Orientis*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores 18, ed. L. T. Belgrano (Rome, 1890), 45: 38–42: “In tempore enim captio- nis Antiochiae arma manebat, nisi ecclesia episcopalis ubi clerici morabantur. Et tunc temporis Greci per imperatorem Alexium . . . civitatem, et duo castra quae desuper erant, et duas turres iuxta introitum portus, tene- bant. Archantus unus qui tenebat insulam Cypri, et Filocarius vocabatur, 20 salandrios et milites et clientes multos ibi tenebant.” [At the time of the capture of Antioch, it (Laodicea) was deserted, except for the epis- copal church where some clergy remained. And then at the time the Greeks under Emperor Alexios . . . ruled the city and the two castles standing above and the two towers by the entrance to the harbor. A gov- ernor who ruled over the island of Cyprus and was called Filocarius maintained there twenty *chelandia* and soldiers and many allies.] Since Cafari next writes, “Marachiam vero praedicti Graeci Lauticiae eam tenebant, Vananeam Sarraceni” [In fact Maraḡiya was held by the Greeks from Laodicea, while Banyas was held by the Saracens], the context appears to point to the year 1099 (R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, 3 vols. [Paris, 1934], 1: 319, 371–72).

¹⁵⁴ *Alexiad*, XI.x.6, Reinsch and Kambylis, 1: 1352 (ed. Leib, 3: 44). See also A. S. Savvides, “The Consolidation of Byzantine Power in Cyprus on the Eve of the First Crusade,” in *Cyprus and the Crusades: Papers Given at the International Conference “Cyprus and the Crusades,” Nicosia, 6–9 September 1994*, ed. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith (Nicosia, 1995), 5.

¹⁵⁵ R. B. C. Huygens, *Guillaume de Tyr: Chronique*, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 1986), 1: 375; *Alexiad*, XI.vii.6, Reinsch and Kambylis, 1: 345 (ed. Leib, 3: 35). On the castle see W. Müller-Wiener, *Castles of the Crusades*, trans. J. M. Brownjohn (London, 1966), 42–43; P. Deschamps, *La défense du Comté de Tripoli et de la Principauté d’Antioche* (Paris, 1973), 293–95, 367–71; and especially H. Salamé-Sarkis, *Contribution à l’histoire de Tripoli et de sa région à l’époque des Croisades: Problèmes d’histoire, d’architecture et de céramique* (Paris, 1980). The elements that may be attributed to the original construction are, unfortunately, meager. The castle had been built by 1103: see J. Richard, “Le chartier de Sainte-Marie-Latine et l’établissement de Raymond de Saint-Gilles à Mont-Pèlerin,” in *Orient et Occident au Moyen Age: Contacts et relations XIIe–XVe siècles* (London, 1976), study 6.

Byzantine expedition to Cilicia led by Manuel Boutoumites (1103)¹⁵⁶ and who had also served on the island in the past, probably in the (late?) 1080s.¹⁵⁷

From Cyprus Eumathios proceeded to Constantinople, where he seems to have been awarded the rank of *sebastos*, the highest accessible to persons who did not belong to the imperial family. At the same time we should note that the vast majority of persons given this title were related to the emperor by marriage, and this has indeed prompted the suggestion that Eumathios may have been rewarded by Alexios with an imperial bride.¹⁵⁸ He appears as *sebastos* in our sources in connection with his next known assignment, in 1105 or shortly before. This was to travel to the Hungarian court and escort to Constantinople Piroska, the daughter of King László I (Ladislás) who, under the name of Eirene, was to marry the future John II Komnenos.¹⁵⁹ Eumathios may have remained in the capital until 1108 or 1109¹⁶⁰ when he was entrusted by the emperor with the command of Attaleia. In this connection Anna Komnene gives the following sketch of him: “This Philokales Eumathios was a most skilful man who surpassed most of the nobility not only by birth, but also by prudence; liberal in mind and hand, faithful to God and to his friends, singularly devoted to his sovereigns, he was, however, altogether uninitiated in military training; for he knew neither how to draw the string of the bow to his breast, nor how to protect himself with a shield. But in other respects he was very astute, namely in setting ambushes and vanquishing the enemy by means of various devices.”¹⁶¹

156 *Alexiad*, XI.ix.3, Reinsch and Kambylis, 1: 349 (ed. Leib, 3: 41). The seal of Katakalon, *doux* of Cyprus and *protonobelissimos*, should be dated to his second tenure (Zacos and Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals* I, 3: 1452–53 no. 2679 [above, n. 150]).

157 His first tenure, in view of the revised chronology of the events of the early 1090s, must be placed before the rebellion of Rhapsomates, and thus probably in the later 1080s. When he attended the synod of Blachernai in late 1094, he had the title of *protokouropalates*, whereas while *doux* of Cyprus he was only *kouropalates* (Gautier, “Le synode,” 247–48, and V. Laurent, *Documents de sigillographie byzantine: La collection C. Orghidan* [Paris, 1952], III no. 205; Laurent, *Sceaux byzantins*, 57 n.4 [above, n. 122]). In 1095, after defeating the Cumans, he was promoted to *nobelissimos* (*Alexiad*, X.iii.1, Reinsch and Kambylis,

1: 287 [ed. Leib, 2: 194]). The immediate (or somewhat earlier?) predecessor of Katakalon as *doux* of Cyprus was Elpidios Brachamios, in office in the 1070s and/or early '80s (A.-K. Wassiliou and W. Seibt, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich, Zentral- und Provinzialverwaltung* [Vienna, 2004], 2: 247–48). For a list of Byzantine officials in Cyprus, see Cheynet, “Chypre à la veille de la conquête franque,” 73 (above, n. 4), and Kourbetes, “Η στάση του Ραψομάτη,” 192–93 (above, n. 149).

158 P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993), 206. On the title see L. Stiennon, “Notes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. Sébaste et gambros,” *REB* 23 (1965): 226–32.

159 Skoutariotes in Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, 7: 181–82 (above, n. 133). The precise date of the marriage is not known: it cannot be later than 1105, since John's

eldest children, the twins Alexios and Maria, were born shortly before the feast of Saint Demetrios (26 October) in 1106—or possibly 1105, since the next incident recorded by Anna is the fall of Constantine's statue in the Forum of Constantinople in April 1106 (*Alexiad*, XII.iv.4, Reinsch and Kambylis, 1: 369–70 [ed. Leib, 3: 66]). K. Barzos (*Η γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν* [Thessaloniki, 1984], 1: 204–5, 339, 348) suggests 1104/5 for the marriage and late 1106/early 1107 for the birth of the twins, without justifying either date.

160 In 1109, according to F. Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis Ier Comnène (1081–1118)* (Paris, 1900), 254–55.

161 *Alexiad*, XIV.i.3, Reinsch and Kambylis, 1: 425 (ed. Leib, 3: 142).

From Constantinople Eumathios led his forces to Atramyttion, which he found deserted and in ruins; he refortified it and brought in new settlers. From there he marched southeast. On being informed that the Turks were at Lampe,¹⁶² he sent a detachment of his troops against them. The Turks were defeated and massacred with exceptional cruelty. Eumathios then occupied Philadelphia, where he was besieged by the superior forces of Hasan, emir of Cappadocia, but managed by ruse to induce the enemy to divide his army and defeated it piecemeal.¹⁶³ Anna does not pursue her narrative any further and fails to inform us whether Eumathios assumed the command of Attaleia. If he did, he did not keep it long, for by 1111–12 he was back in Cyprus, once again as *doux*. When the emperor sent Manuel Boutoumites as his ambassador to the king of Jerusalem Baldwin I, hoping to win the latter's support against Tancred, duke of Antioch, he instructed him to receive a large sum of money and as many ships as he needed from Eumathios, τὸν τηγικαῦτα δοῦκα Κύπρου (the then *doux* of Cyprus), and then sail to Tripoli, to meet Bertrand, son and successor of Raymond of Toulouse. Boutoumites did so and deposited the money for safekeeping in the care of the bishop of Tripoli; but the embassy, after wasting a good deal of time, achieved no result and even had some trouble in recovering the funds that had been left at Tripoli, for Bertrand had meanwhile died. It is worth recording the threat that the Byzantines addressed to the latter's son: "If you do not return the money to us . . . you will not in the future receive a large supply of necessities from Cyprus nor will the *doux* of Cyprus be your helper, as a result of which you will die of hunger." In the end the ambassador parted with the sum that had been intended for Bertrand; the rest was returned to Eumathios and used to purchase thoroughbred horses from Damascus, Edessa, and Arabia.¹⁶⁴

Our next reference to Eumathios comes from a document dated to 25 August 1118, concerning a dispute over water rights in a village in Crete.¹⁶⁵ The case was brought not before a civil judge but to the tribunal of the military governor (*katepano*) of Crete, a certain John Eladas, who is described as the οἰκεῖος ἄνθρωπος "of our holy lord, the *pansebastos sebastos*, *megas doux* and *praitor*, *kyr* Eumathios Philokales,

162 Not near Lopadion/Ulubad, as suggested by B. Leib (*Anne Comnène, Alexiade* [Paris, 1945], 3: 143 n. 3), but between Choma and Polybotos (*Alexiad*, XI.v.6, Reinsch and Kambylis, 1: 338 [ed. Leib, 3: 27]). According to P. Wittek, "Von der byzantinischen zur türkischen Toponymie," *Byzantion* 10 (1935): 26 n. 2, it was southwest of Apamea in Pisidia. See also L. Robert,

Villes d'Asie Mineure: Études de géographie ancienne, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1962), 358, and K. Belke and N. Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien* (Vienna, 1990), 321–22.

163 *Alexiad*, XIV.i.4–7, Reinsch and Kambylis, 1: 425–27 (ed. Leib, 3: 143–46).

164 *Alexiad*, XIV.ii.6–14, Reinsch and Kambylis, 1: 429–34 (ed. Leib, 3: 148). See also Dölger, *Regesten*, 2: 172–73 nos. 1250b, 1250c, 1250d, (above n. 133).

165 MM 6:95 from a document in the monastery of Patmos. For its interpretation see N. Oikonomides, "Οἱ αὐθένται τῶν Κρητικῶν τὸ 1118," in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Δ' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (Athens, 1981), 2: 308–17.

our lord.” The office of *megas doux*, created as we have seen for John Doukas, denoted the commander-in-chief of the imperial navy.¹⁶⁶ The holder of that important post acquired direct jurisdiction over the theme of Hellas and the Peloponnese, thus displacing the *doux* of that theme. Eumathios also acquired the position of *praitor*, that is, civil governor of the same theme, which no doubt gave him access to considerable revenues. He may have been an absentee governor who resided at Constantinople and was represented at local level by “his men,” like the *katepano* of Crete. This is the last we hear of Eumathios Philokales. As we saw earlier, his death, which occurred on 13 March of an unrecorded year (after 1118), was communicated to the monastery at Koutsovendis and was registered in its *typikon*.

The career of Eumathios is further illustrated by a series of lead seals that may be arranged in ascending order of rank as follows:¹⁶⁷

1. Τοῦ Φιλοκάλλου Εὐμαθίου μαγίστρου.¹⁶⁸
2. Εὐμάθιον σκέποις με κουροπαλάτ(ην) τὸν Φιλοκάλην, μήτερ ἀγνή τοῦ Λόγου.¹⁶⁹
3. Nobelissimos and *doux* (unpublished).¹⁷⁰
4. Protonobelissimos and *doux* (unpublished).¹⁷¹
5. Τὸν Φιλοκάλην, μήτερ ἀγνή, σὸν λάτρην σεβαστὸν Εὐμάθιον ἀναγνώριζε.¹⁷²
6. Θεοτόκε βοήθει Εὐμαθίω μεγάλῳ δουκὶ καὶ πραιτοριᾷ Ἑλλάδος καὶ Πελοποννήσου τῷ Φιλοκάλῃ.¹⁷³

In that other persons with the name Eumathios Philokales are recorded at the end of the twelfth century (above, p. 64), one may at first hesitate in attributing all the above seals to our Eumathios, but Laurent is probably right in so doing. All they add to our knowledge of the man is his normal progression from *magistros* to *kouropalates*, then *nobelissimos*, *protonobelissimos*, and finally *sebastos*, his uncertainty over the spelling of his family name (with one or two

166 H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer, la marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VIIe–XVe siècles* (Paris, 1966), 186–87.

167 I owe particular thanks to John Nesbitt for his help with the sigillographic material, especially with the unpublished seals. To this date no seals of Eumathios have been found on Cyprus (Metcalf, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, 127 [above, n. 28]).

168 B. A. Pančenko, “Katalog molivdovulov,” *IRAİK* 13 (1908): 95 no. 346 (366); V. Laurent, *Les bulles métriques dans la sigillographie byzantine* (Athens, 1932),

186–87 no. 531; and Stavrakos, *Bleisiegel mit Familiennamen*, 395–96 no. 269 (dated to the 1070s/80s [above, n. 129]).

169 Laurent, *Les bulles métriques*, 52 no. 147.

170 DOC, no. 58.106.908.

171 Several specimens: Fogg Art Museum, Whittemore Collection, no. 584; DOC, nos. 58.106.4101 and 55.1.3868. No. 55.1.3869 in the same collection belongs to a Philokales, also *doux* and *protonobelissimos*; but his first name is not clearly legible, although it could be Eumathios; unlike the other seals that bear a bust of the Virgin, this has a standing Virgin with hands upraised.

172 Two specimens, one found in Serbia (Laurent, *Sceaux byzantins*, 55–58 no. 68 [above, n. 122], and Maksimović and Popović, “Sceaux byzantins,” 140–41 no. 32 [above, n. 126]).

173 J. Nesbitt and N. Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art* (Washington, D.C., 1994), 2: 68 no. 22.15.

lambdas) and his devotion to the Virgin Mary, at least in the later stages of his career.¹⁷⁴

Anna Komnene's positive assessment of the character of Eumathios, motivated perhaps by his loyalty to Alexios, does not appear to have been universally shared. Others regarded him as evil, avaricious, and an oppressor of the Church. This unfavorable judgment is reflected in two texts. The first is the *Life of Kyrillos Phileotes*, which records that on one occasion the saint was visited at Philea (near Lake Derkos, northwest of Constantinople) by the doux Eumathios Philokales. The saint addressed him in these words: "Why have you come here, you lone wolf, who have no respect for the shepherd and his dogs and mercilessly rend the flock asunder?" He then accused him of vanity, avarice, and licentiousness and of oppressing the poor.¹⁷⁵ This incident is perhaps to be dated between the two tenures of Eumathios as doux of Cyprus: although the chronological order of incidents related in the vita is often blurred, they still follow a rough sequence; and the chapter that follows that on Eumathios (36) contains one of the very few datable stories in the text, in which Saint Kyrillos foretells the victory of Alexios I over Bohemund. Thus Eumathios's visit perhaps took place at around the time of his Hungarian mission (ca. 1105) and at any rate before the death of Kyrillos in 1110 (?).¹⁷⁶

The same text contains some evidence that has been misinterpreted and used to link the toponym *Koutsovendis* with Eumathios. This interpretation has considerable implications for the reconstruction of the monastery's early history. In a passage from the vita, the doux is described thus during his visit to Kyrillos: ἦν γὰρ κεκυφὼς ὁ ἀνὴρ πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ.¹⁷⁷ Based on this passage, it has been alleged that Eumathios was probably lame in both legs,¹⁷⁸ and here the toponym comes into play. Although its origin remains uncertain, one widely accepted and likely derivation is from κουτσαφέντης (lame lord).¹⁷⁹ The implication, then, is that the area was owned by none

174 The first seal (*magistros*) has Saint Theodore and Saint George on the obverse: J.-C. Cheynet, "L'iconographie des sceaux des Comnènes," in *Siegel und Siegler: Akten des 8. Internationalen Symposions für Byzantinische Sigillographie*, ed. C. Ludwig (Frankfurt am Main, 2005), 62 n. 45.
175 M. Kaplan, "In Search of St. Cyril's Philea," in *Work and Worship at the Theotokos Evergetis 1050–1200, Papers of the Fourth Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium, Portaferry, Co. Down, 14–17 September 1995*, ed. M. Mullett and A. Kirby (Belfast, 1997), 213–21; Sargologos, *La vie de Saint Cyrille*, 146–53 (above, n. 37).

176 The date of 1110 (2 December of AM 6619) is given in the text: Sargologos, *La vie de Saint Cyrille*, 260, 489 n. 165; it has nevertheless been challenged by P. Karlin-Hayter, who argues for 1120 instead, in "L'édition de la vie de S. Cyrille le Philéote par E. Sargologos," *Byzantion* 34 (1964): 609–10.
177 Sargologos, *La vie de Saint Cyrille*, 147.
178 Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint*, 194 (above, n. 4).
179 S. Menardos, "Τοπωνυμικὸν τῆς Κύπρου," *Ἀθηνᾶ* 18 (1906): 399 (also in Menardos, *Τοπωνυμικαὶ καὶ λαογραφικαὶ μελέται* [Nicosia, 1970], 67); etymology accepted, among others, by Galatariotou,

The Making of a Saint, 194, but refuted by Englezakis, *Εἴκοσι μελέται*, 30 (above, n. 13), who traces its origin (without justifying it) to κατεβάτης (*sic*). The Italian/French etymology (from *couche/cuccia* and *vento*) suggested by Tsiknopoullos who (in *Ἡ ἱερὰ μονὴ τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τοῦ Κουτζουβένδη καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῆς κτίσματα* [Nicosia, 1959], 19) dismisses that proposed by Menardos, is entirely unconvincing, considering that the toponym is attested well before the Latin conquest.

other than the supposedly lame Eumathios, from whom it acquired its name; he therefore was not merely the patron of the parekklesion but of the entire foundation, built on his land. There are two serious problems with this suggestion. First, the above interpretation of the relevant passage from the vita is incorrect. The text clearly states that Philokales was merely crouched by the feet of Kyrillos and certainly nothing more.¹⁸⁰ Second, the toponym is attested for the first time well before the recorded involvement of Eumathios with Cyprus and even before his earliest attestation in the sources, which, as we have already seen, dates to 1092.

In our typikon “Koutsovendis” refers specifically to the mountain upon which the monastery was built (Par. gr. 402 f. 56r: Κουτζουβίντι), although at around the same time it also appears as the monastery’s name (Lavra Γ17 f. 78v: Κουντζούβε, Sinait. gr. 436 (441) f. 4v.: Κουτζουβέντι). Later on Theoktistos of Patmos calls the monastery Κουτζουβεινίτου, while Neophytos the Recluse talks of the mountain of Κουτζουβένδη (see p. 48 above).¹⁸¹ It is almost certain then that the monastery derived the name by which it became known from the mountain itself.¹⁸² In the absence of firm evidence, it would be difficult to postulate that the latter and the surrounding region not only belonged to Eumathios during his tenure in Cyprus, but that this was the case already before 1090. As we shall see shortly, there may be another explanation for his patronage of the monastery. Whoever the κουτσαφέντης who perhaps gave his name to the area was, he is definitely not to be identified with Philokales, whose busy career in the service of Alexios would be rather difficult to imagine had he been incapacitated by a condition affecting his legs. Equally important, Anna Komnene would have certainly mentioned or at least alluded to it in her comment on his military skills.

Our second damning text is the long and obscure poem by Nikolaos Mouzalon justifying his resignation in around 1111 as archbishop of Cyprus,¹⁸³ an office to which he had been appointed at the emperor’s insistence. Nikolaos paints a horrifying picture of conditions in Cyprus as he experienced them during his (probably brief) tenure: corruption of the clergy, spoliation of churches, and ruthless oppression of the farming population, who were deprived of all their gains by the taxman’s exactions, strung up and set upon by dogs if

180 As translated by the editor of the text (“l’homme s’était jeté à ses pieds”): Sargologos, *La vie de Saint Cyrille*, 374.

181 See Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακά Τυπικά*, 75 (above, n. 48), and Stephanes in Αγίου Νεοφύτου του Εγκλείστου, *Συγγράμματα*, 2:30 (above, n. 28).

182 As did the homonymous nearby village, attested much later (G. Grivaud, “Villages désertés à Chypre [fin XIIe-fin XIXe siècle],” *Μελέται καὶ Ὑπομνήματα* 3 [1998]: 464). In this context note also that the members of the community were known as Χρυσοστομίται and not by an epithet deriving from *Koutsovendis*.

183 S. I. Doanidou, “Ἡ παραίτησις Νικολάου τοῦ Μουζάλωνος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Κύπρου,” *Ἑλληνικά* 7 (1934): 112.41–114.85, 121.356–59. See also P. Maas, “Zu dem Abdankungsgedicht des Nikolaos Muzalon,” *BZ* 35 (1935): 8–10.

unable to pay, and forced to live “on the diet of John the Baptist.” The cause of these ills was a sinister pair of officials, “the dragon and the lion” (v. 64), of whom one, described as “the Devil’s disciple, similar in all respects to his teacher” was certainly Eumathios—he is designated by the transparent pun ὁ μὲν τις ἐστὶν εὐμαθὴς εἰς κακίαν (v. 41)—while the other, presumably the *διοικetes*, may have been named Eusebios (see v.48: ὁ δ’ εὐσεβής, φεῦ, τὸν Σατὰν σέβων μόνον). Rebuffed by both in his attempts to discipline the clergy, Nikolaos saw himself obliged to abandon Cyprus, which he came to regard as “a dungheap to be shunned”: ἡ πρὶν κύπερος [*sic*], ἀλλὰ νῦν φευκτὴ κόπρος (v. 999).¹⁸⁴

Even in the monastery whose benefactor he was, Eumathios does not appear to have been highly regarded: while the celebration of his memorial service is very laconically mentioned in the typikon, without any laudatory epithets, his two dedicatory inscriptions were deliberately obscured, a fact to which we owe their preservation; and it is possible that if the western face of the south pier flanking the bema carried his portrait as founder, it was destroyed.¹⁸⁵

The question now arises whether the parekklesion of the Holy Trinity was built and decorated during the first or the second tenure of Eumathios as doux of Cyprus.¹⁸⁶ Neither inscription bears a date. In the preliminary report on the wall paintings, the choice was left open.¹⁸⁷ It would seem though that the evidence favors the first period (ca. 1099–1103). Line 7 of the inscription [to expiate the wrongs he has erred in committing] (πρὸς ἐξίλασμον ὧν κακῶς παρεσφάλῃ) is simply a poetic paraphrase of the usual formula πρὸς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν and does not imply any particular misdeeds, such as those that Mouzalon complains of. More important, there is no reason to reject the statement of Theodoros Skoutariotes, based no doubt on earlier sources, that Eumathios was sebastos around 1105; hence he would not have described himself by the lower title of protonobelissimos in ca. 1111–12. A possible objection concerns the presence, among the frescoes of the church of the Holy Trinity, of a saint in monk’s costume named Meletios. If he was meant to be Meletios of Myoupolis (d. 1105), an earlier date would be automatically excluded; but the saint in question should more probably be identified with the

¹⁸⁴ For a recent discussion of Eumathios’s relationship with Mouzalon, see A. A. Demosthenous, *Η βυζαντινὴ Κύπρος* (965–1191). *Υλικός και πνευματικός πολιτισμός* (Thessaloniki, 2002), 33–36.

¹⁸⁵ Mango, “Monastery of Chrysostomos,” 78–79 (above, n. 2).

¹⁸⁶ Skoulatos, *Les personnages*, 80–81 (above, n. 122), states that Eumathios was doux of Cyprus for twenty years (starting in 1092) and that he was in office as such in 1105, when Alexios I ordered him to dispatch a certain Niketas Chalintzes to Tripoli to confirm the loyalty of William,

nephew of Raymond de Saint-Gilles. The authorities he cites for the events of 1105 are *Alexiad*, XI.viii.5 (where the doux of Cyprus is not named) and the passage of Cafari (see n. 153 above), which is unrelated to them.

¹⁸⁷ Mango and Hawkins, “Report,” 337–39 (above, n. 122).

fourth-century bishop of Antioch.¹⁸⁸ One further indication would push the date toward the early part of Eumathios's first tenure. In the previous section, a likely date for the death of George of Koutsovendis in 1099 was suggested (p. 50), which is also the year when Eumathios is attested for the first time as *doux* of Cyprus, the same office assigned to him in both inscriptions. Did Eumathios offer his patronage only after the founder's death, or did he act in concert with him? The dedication of the parekklesion to the Holy Trinity, which, as we saw, was also used at the main church at Saint Symeon on the Wondrous Mountain, suggests that George probably played some part in it, and thus that Eumathios became involved with Koutsovendis before the death of the founder.¹⁸⁹ We shall assume, therefore, that the church of the Holy Trinity dates from 1099 at the latest, or slightly earlier. Nevertheless Philokales' benefaction remains to be explained; numerous other monasteries were active on the island at that time on which he could have bestowed his largesse, after all.

In addition to being within easy reach of Nicosia and close to Kythrea, Koutsovendis also lies at the foot of the homonymous peak, the second highest in the Kyrenia mountains (954m asl), which is crowned by a castle. The latter is first recorded in the (Latin and Old French) sources of the Third Crusade as "Buf(f)event,"¹⁹⁰ almost certainly a corruption of the mountain's Greek name. The castle of Buffavento was built in a strategic and impregnable position overlooking the access routes to the pass above Kythrea, the island's central plain and a large stretch of the north coast and the Sea of Cilicia. Its date of construction has not been recorded and what is left standing of its buildings is not particularly helpful in this respect. But this castle, together with the others of the Kyrenia range (Saint Hilarion, Kantara), was most probably erected during the reign of Alexios I Komnenos,¹⁹¹ hence possibly under the supervision of Philokales himself who, as we saw earlier, was to get involved with the construction of Mont-Pèlerin as well a few years later. Although Buffavento contains no clues that might relate its architecture with that of our monastery and thus with the period of Eumathios, the presumably contemporary castle of Saint Hilarion does, as we shall see later on. Eumathios may have become familiar with the community of Koutsovendis, and

188 Meletios of Myoupolis, commemorated on 1 September, is absent from the calendar of saints in the monastery's typikon.

189 The study of the iconographic program in the parekklesion may possibly offer further clues in support of this suggestion; it has been undertaken by Maria Parani (University of Cyprus), to whom I am most

grateful for countless discussions concerning the various issues raised by the fresco decoration and the involvement of Philokales.

190 G. Paris, *Ambroise: L'estoire de la Guerre Sainte, histoire en vers de la troisième croisade (1190–1192)* (Paris, 1897), 54, and M. R. Morgan, *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)* (Paris, 1982), 118, 121. In

later Greek sources Buffavento is called Castle of the Lion (εἰσὶτὸ [*sic*] κάστρον τὸν λέονταν) (Pieris and Nikolaou-Konnari, *Λεοντίου Μαχαίρα Χρονικό της Κύπρου*, 415–16 [ed. Dawkins, *Leontios Makhairas*, 1: 600]).

191 Papacostas, "Byzantine Cyprus," 1: 44–49 (above, n. 4).

indeed with the founder George himself, during his (unrecorded) involvement with the construction of the nearby castle and his presumably frequent visits from Nicosia to oversee the project. This may offer a plausible explanation for his patronage of this particular establishment in the closing years of the eleventh century.

The Monk Neophytos the Recluse

Neophytos the Recluse was the most illustrious inmate of Koutsovendis. His writings provide important information on the monastery in the second half of the twelfth century, which will be examined below. Neophytos fled from his native Lefkara (in the southeastern foothills of the Troodos) to the monastery in 1152 as a young man of 18 to escape the marriage that his parents had arranged for him. Two months later he was apprehended and returned to his home, but managed to convince his parents of his vocation. Back at the monastery he joyfully received the tonsure, but since he was completely illiterate, the hegumen Maximos appointed him to tend a vineyard.¹⁹² This he did for five years, during which period he acquired his first letters and learnt the psalter by heart. He was then promoted to assistant sacristan (parekklesiarches), a duty he performed for two years. All this time he was consumed by a longing for the solitary life, which, because of his youth, he was not allowed by his hegumen to embrace. He then went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, hoping to find in Palestine a hermit who would accept him as a disciple. His search, which lasted six months, proved vain. Admonished in a vision that the Lord had another place in mind for him, he returned to the monastery of Saint John Chrysostomos, thinking that he would find on the slopes of Mount Koutsovendis a suitable retreat. The superiors of the monastery, however, opposed such a plan, and Neophytos departed once again, this time to Paphos, where he hoped to find a ship that would take him to Mount Latros in Asia Minor. Imprisoned by the harbor guards on suspicion of being a fugitive and robbed of all the money he carried, he wandered off into the hinterland of Paphos and in June 1159 found the cave that was to become the famous Enkleistra, where he was to spend the rest of his life. These details Neophytos gives himself in his typikon.¹⁹³ His association with the monastery of Chrysostomos lasted, therefore, a total of seven years

¹⁹² τὰς ἐν ταῖς βούπαις (οἱ γούπαις) καλουμέναις ἀμπέλους καλλιεργεῖν ἐπετράπην (Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακά Τυπικά*, 75, 118 n. 75.24 [above, n. 48]; Stephanes in *Αγίου Νεοφύτου του Εγκλείστου Συγγράμματα*, 2:31 [above, n. 28]). The monastery's vineyards are also attested in its typikon: Par. gr. 402 f. 177r.

¹⁹³ Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακά Τυπικά*, 74–76; Stephanes in *Αγίου Νεοφύτου του Εγκλείστου Συγγράμματα*, 2:30–34 (above, n. 28). For a survey of Neophytos's life, and earlier bibliography, see Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint*, 13–18 (above, n. 4).

(he says so himself). In his rock-cut cell he had his alma mater mentioned in an inscription,¹⁹⁴ and although he never returned to it in person, Neophytos remained in touch with that institution, which his younger brother John had meanwhile joined, rising to the position of oikonomos by 1176¹⁹⁵ and of hegumen by around 1214.

John and the monks of Koutsovendis must have witnessed the arrival of the Crusader armies that besieged the castle of Buffavento in May 1191, during the conquest of Cyprus by Richard Lionheart. According to some sources the self-proclaimed emperor of Cyprus Isaac Komnenos had sought refuge in the castle and the siege was led by Richard himself.¹⁹⁶ The subsequent capture and imprisonment of Isaac marked the end of his rule over Cyprus. Meanwhile Neophytos, confined in his Enkleistra, in an area that was hardly affected by the events of 1191, was presumably kept informed of developments by his brother.

It was to John that Neophytos addressed his *Interpretations of the Lord's Commandments* (Ἑρμηνεῖαι δεσποτικῶν ἐντολῶν: 1176), his *Book of Fifty Chapters* (Βιβλίον πενήντακοντακέφαλον: ca. 1179), his letter on the Divine Sign (Περὶ τῆς Θεοσημείας ἀντίγραμμα πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφὸν Χρυσοστομίτην κύρ Ἰωάννην: 1197), and finally his *Katecheseis* (ca. 1214).¹⁹⁷ He also corresponded with other members of the community at Koutsovendis, as his letter to the monk and priest Euthymios Chrysostomites shows.¹⁹⁸

A note in the Coisl. gr. 105 (f. 2v) records the donation of that manuscript by John to the Enkleistra in September 1176, while shortly after receiving his brother's *Theosemeia* John wrote a *kanon* on the Recluse, preserved in an eighteenth-century manuscript at Lefkara. Another (undated) manuscript note (Vind. phil. gr. 330 f. 132v) by Neophytos himself shows that John had traveled to Constantinople (or perhaps Nicaea?).¹⁹⁹ The note in question quotes two synodal decisions, the first of the patriarch Nicholas I Mystikos (901–907, 912–925), the other of John Kamateros (1198–1206), described as ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Ἀγγέλου (see below), authorizing *megaloschemoi* monks to perform the liturgy. This is followed by two statements

194 The fragmentary painted inscription described the Recluse's career (Mango and Hawkins, "The Hermitage," 174 [above, n. 57]).

195 In 1177 the newly appointed patriarch of Jerusalem, Leontios, spent some time on Cyprus on his way from Patmos to Palestine (Tsougarakis, *The Life of Leontios*, 112–26 [above, n. 32]); considering that he had started his career on Patmos in the days of hegumen Theoktistos (1127–57/58), who

appointed him as his successor and had himself, as we have already seen, been to Koutsovendis in the 1090s, it is conceivable that Leontios may have made contact with the Cypriot monastery and its oikonomos John. On the date of Leontios's arrival on Patmos (early 1130s?) see *ibid.*, 172–73.

196 Morgan, *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, 118, 121 (above, n. 190). Other sources claim that the siege was led by Guy de Lusignan.

197 For a recent edition of these texts see Αγίου Νεοφύτου του Εγκλείστου, *Συγγράμματα* (above, n. 28). Discussion of dates and bibliography in Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint*, 180, 268–80.

198 A. Karpouzilos in Αγίου Νεοφύτου του Εγκλείστου *Συγγράμματα*, 5:439–43, and Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint*, 268.

199 Christodoulou, "Un Canon inédit," 247–59; Chatzipsaltis, *Βιβλιογραφικὸν σημεῖωμα*, 125–32 (above, n. 82).

made in the first person. The first (by an unknown author) urges his spiritual son, a certain monk Theosteriktos, to officiate without hindrance in the light of the above decision. The second may be rendered as follows: “I, too, the humble monk and recluse Neophytos, having read the above in a booklet (ἐν τινι σχεδαρίῳ) brought to me from the imperial city (ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλευούσης πόλεως) by my blessed brother John Chrysostomites, did not let it be consigned to oblivion, but have brought it into the light.”

The question now arises at what date and for what purpose John made this trip. It has already been pointed out that Neophytos’s typikon in its second and final edition of 1214 contained a memorandum addressed to “the brethren of the monastery of Chrysostomos who are in the Imperial City,” concerning the lifting of an excommunication that had been imposed on certain persons.²⁰⁰ The text of the memorandum is, unfortunately, lost, because a folio is missing at this point from the manuscript. It does not necessarily follow that the memorandum, too, was written in 1214; it may well have been composed earlier and included in the typikon because Neophytos considered its content to have particular value.

Several opinions have been expressed about the reasons that may have led John and his monks to Constantinople: one proposes that they may have fled there after the establishment of Latin rule on Cyprus, therefore after 1191 and presumably before the Latin conquest of Constantinople itself in 1204.²⁰¹ Another view suggests that the Koutsovendis monks traveled to Constantinople to consult with the bureaucracy of the patriarchate of Jerusalem, since it was assumed that their monastery was subject to the patriarchs and that the latter were living in exile in Constantinople during this period.²⁰² Both assumptions, however, are erroneous. As we shall see later, Koutsovendis only became a dependency of the Holy Sepulcher after the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus in 1570–71.

As for the patriarchs of Jerusalem, it has been shown that by 1206/7 they had returned to their see.²⁰³ The designation of the patriarch John Kamateros as ὁ ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Ἀγγέλου, “the one who lived in the reign of Alexios Angelos,” implies that the patriarch was already dead when the note with the synodal decisions was written. Furthermore, the text in

200 πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων Χρυσσοστομίτας ἀδελφοὺς ὑπόμνησις (Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακὰ Τυπικά*, 102 [above, n. 48]; Stephanes in *Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου Συγγράμματα*, 2:66).

201 I. P. Tsiknopoullos, *Ὁ ἅγιος Νεόφυτος πρεσβύτερος μοναχὸς καὶ ἐγκλείστος καὶ ἡ*

ἱερὰ αὐτοῦ μονή (Paphos, 1955), 41, and Tsiknopoullos, *Ἡ ἱερὰ μονή τοῦ Χρυσσοστόμου*, 34 (above, n. 179).

202 Chatzipsaltes, *Βιβλιογραφικὸν σημείωμα*, 128–30.

203 Pahlitzsch, *Graeci und Suriani*, 257 (above, n. 32).

question was annotated by another hand before it was brought to Cyprus by Neophytos's brother. Hence the latter must have made his journey after Constantinople fell into Latin hands. The purpose of his visit remains elusive. Englezakis has cautiously suggested that this may have taken place in the summer of 1209, when Bishop Sabas of Paphos went to Nicaea to seek confirmation for the election of Esaïas to the vacant metropolitan throne of Cyprus, and to discuss the position of the island's Church vis-à-vis the new state of affairs resulting from the establishment of a Latin church.²⁰⁴ Although this is plausible, the way the monks' destination is described, using the customary terms employed for Constantinople (the queen of cities, the imperial city), indicates that this was probably not Nicaea. Perhaps the Koutsovendis monks, if they did make the journey to Nicaea, also took the opportunity to visit Constantinople. What seems certain is that Saint John Chrysostomos and the Enkleistra were at that time among the most prominent establishments on the island. The writings of Neophytos are important for our monastery in another respect too, for they contain unique evidence concerning the much-discussed issue of the Maronite presence at Koutsovendis.

The Maronite Community at Koutsovendis

A small dossier of manuscript notes in Syriac and Arabic testifies to the existence of a Maronite monastery on Cyprus. The latter has been linked to Saint John Chrysostomos of Koutsovendis. Since much has been written about this issue, let us first look at the evidence. The earliest notice in date (12 June 1121) is in Syriac and is found in the Vatic. Syr. 118 (*Homilies of Jacob of Sarug*, tenth/eleventh century), where it is repeated twice (f. 261v, 262r). Leroy translates it as follows: "Moi, l'humble Siméon, moine de nom, j'ai écrit ces lignes dans ce livre, auprès de notre Très Bienheureux Père Mar Pierre, patriarche des Maronites, qui habite le saint monastère de Maiphûk dans le val d'Elige, territoire de Batroun, lorsqu'il m'a donné le pouvoir de présider au monastère de Saint-Jean de Kûzbandû (KWZBNDW) en l'île de Chypre, à l'époque des moines qui habitaient le monastère de Mar Jean. En voici les noms: David, moine; Moyse, prêtre; Joseph, moine et cuisinier (ou chargé du vestiaire); Georges, moine; Daniel, moine. Ceux-ci sont prêtres et servent le Seigneur. L'an 1432 des Grecs (= 1120/21), le 12 juin. Gloire à Dieu. Amen."²⁰⁵ The second notice (10 July 1141) is in Arabic, on f. 252 of the same manuscript, and is thus rendered by Assemani: "Anno Graecorum 1452 (Chr. 1141) mense benedicto Tamuz (Julio) die decima, convenit me Petrum Patriarcham Maronitarum, in Antiocheno Throno sedentem, Jacobum nomine,

²⁰⁴ Englezakis, *Είκοσι μελέται*, 269–70 (above, n. 13).

²⁰⁵ J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient; contribution à l'étude de l'iconographie des églises de langue syriacque* (Paris, 1964), 235 n. 2.

ex oppido Ramath, Dioceseos Botrensis, filius David Monachus ex monasterio Chaphtun; eique potestatem dedi ex Deo, et ex mea abjectione, ut praesset Monasterio S. Johannis in Cuzapanta in custodita a Deo insula Cypro: prout consensum suum propriis subscriptionibus firmatum huc miserunt filii Monachi, Esau scilicet Monachus horum prior, et Elias, et Johannes Monachus, et Jacobus eius frater, Laus Domino nostro, Amen.”²⁰⁶

The third notice (8 September 1153), also in Arabic, is to be found in the famous sixth-century Rabbula codex (Laurent. Plut. I.56), in the margin of f. 7v. Here is Leroy’s translation: “L’an 1465 des Grecs, le 8 du mois d’Elûl (= Sept. 1153) est venu chez moi, Pierre, patriarche des Maronites, siégeant sur le trône d’Antioche, au couvent N.-D. de Maiphûk dans le val d’Elige, le jeune moine Isaïe du monastère de Kozhaïa et je l’ai fait supérieur des moines du couvent de Saint-Jean de Kûzbandû dans l’île de Chypre, selon la lettre qu’il m’a apportée écrite par les moines (de ce monastère), à savoir le moine Gabriel et son compagnon le moine Simon et le moine Habacuc et le moine Michel. A Dieu la gloire, Amen.”²⁰⁷

The fourth and last notice is dated to the year 1238/39 and is, once again, in the Rabbula codex, f. 8r. It is in Syriac and reads in Leroy’s translation: “L’an 1550, moi, Pierre, patriarche des Maronites, siégeant sur le trône d’Antioche, appelé Jean du village de GZG et habitant le monastère béni de N.-D. de Maiphûk. Est venu chez moi mon frère du monastère de Kûsbandû, dont le nom est Qasa Matti (le prêtre Matthieu), vierge et chaste (c’est à dire moine). Et il reçut de moi trois cents dinars et une fiole de mourrhon (saint chrême) pour le monastère. Il a pris en plus un livre de la loi mosaïque écrit en arabe, ainsi que la Loi et le livre de la foi. A Dieu la gloire, Amen.”²⁰⁸

These notices have been repeatedly quoted and discussed, the main issue being whether or not the Maronite establishment was identical to the monastery founded by George on Mount Koutsovendis.²⁰⁹ Before attempting to explain the notices we should examine more closely the information they provide. The first three concern the appointment of heads to a community of monks by the

²⁰⁶ S. E. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Rome, 1718), 1: 307 and Assemani, *Bibliothecae apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus* (Rome, 1759), 1.3: 114–15. An English translation is provided by Hill in *A History of Cyprus*, 1: 305 n. 1 (above, n. 4).

²⁰⁷ Leroy, *Les manuscrits*, 146 n. 1.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 146 n. 2.

²⁰⁹ Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 1: 305; C. Kyrris, “Military Colonies in Cyprus in the Byzantine Period: Their Character, Purpose and Extent,” *BSI* 31 (1970): 177–79; Mango, “Chypre, carrefour,” 6; Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint*, 63–66 (above, n. 4); Englezakis, *Είκοσι μέληται*, 28–30.

Maronite patriarch,²¹⁰ resident in the monastery of Maifuk, southwest of Batrun.²¹¹

- 1121 Appointed abbot: Symeon.
Resident members: priest Moses; monks David, Joseph, George, Daniel.
- 1141 Appointed abbot: David of the monastery of Chaphtun.
Resident members: Esau, Elias, John, Jacob.
- 1153 Appointed abbot: Isaiah of the monastery of Kozhaia.
Resident members: Gabriel, Simon, Habacuc, Michael.

Two facts are immediately apparent: the Maronite community was small (five to six members, including the abbot) and the turnover of the monks was fairly rapid, since there is no overlap of names. Now, the notice of 1153 coincides with the presence in the monastery of Saint Chrysostomos of the young Neophytos. When he joined the community in 1152, the hegumen was named Maximos. The same Maximos was still in office when Neophytos was promoted to the position of parekklesiarches in 1157, but was succeeded, probably in the same year, by one named Euphrosynos. Furthermore, Neophytos records the death during his stay there of three monks of the community who were called Leontios, Nicholas, and Ignatios.²¹² Since none of these names appears in the Syriac notice of 1153, one is bound to conclude that the Greek community to which Neophytos belonged was distinct from the Arabic-speaking Maronite community. Another indication to the same effect is that the Maronite monastery is nowhere mentioned as dedicated to Chrysostomos, being merely called “of Mar Yuhanna,” in both these notices and in a much later manuscript note of 1564, which is, incidentally, the last time we hear of the Maronite community.²¹³ The ravages of the Ottoman conquest of 1570/71, which led to the temporary abandonment of the Greek monastery at Koutsovendis as we shall see, sealed the fate of the Maronite establishment that was presumably never revived.

210 On the patriarchs of this period, for whom the evidence is largely restricted to these notices, see P. Dib, *L'église maronite*, vol. 1, *L'église maronite jusqu'à la fin du moyen âge* (Paris, 1930), 190–91, G. Fedalto, *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis, series episcoporum ecclesiarum christianarum orientaliarum* (Padua, 1988), 2: 714, and more important, J.-B. Chabot, *Les listes patriarcales de l'église maronite* (Paris, 1938), 4–7, 18–19, for a critical survey of the sources and literature. The patriarch in both 1121

and 1153 is called Peter but, as the notices of 1141 and 1238/39 suggest, this name was probably adopted by all Maronite patriarchs of this period. Nevertheless, Chabot (*Les listes*, 22) concludes that the incumbents mentioned in 1141 and 1153 are one and the same person.

211 On the monastery see P. Chebli, “Notes archéologiques recueillies dans le district de Botrys-Batroun (Mont Liban),” *RevBibl* 10 (1901): 587–89, and on its location (ca. 30 km south of Tripoli), R. Dussaud,

Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale (Paris, 1927), map 5.

212 I. P. Tsiknopoullos, “Συγγραφικὴ τέχνη καὶ γραφικὸς πλοῦτος τοῦ ἁγίου Νεοφύτου,” *Κυπρ. Σπ.* 23 (1959): 122–23; Tsiknopoullos, “Τὰ κυπριακὰ τοῦ ἁγίου Νεοφύτου,” *Κυπρ. Σπ.* 24 (1960): 148–49; Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακὰ Τυπικὰ*, 75 (above, n. 48).

213 Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint*, 65; M. Breydy, *Geschichte der Syro-Arabischen Literatur der Maroniten vom VII. bis XVI. Jahrhundert* (Opladen, 1985), 231.

The similarity of the toponyms Kusbandu/Kuzbandu/Cuzapanta and Koutsovendis leaves no doubt that they were one and the same locality.²¹⁴ This is confirmed by the concentration of Maronite settlements on the slopes of the Kyrenia Mountains and in particular in the vicinity of Koutsovendis in later centuries (at Klepini, Vouno, and around Kythrea).²¹⁵ The precise location of the Maronite monastery, however, is less easy to establish. There is no evidence linking it with the two ruined churches outside Saint John Chrysostomos, neither of which is known to have been dedicated to Saint John or has any trace of inscriptions in any language other than Greek. A church of Saint John Prodromos (i.e., the Baptist), however, is marked on H. H. Kitchener's *Trigonometrical Survey of the Island of Cyprus* (1885) to the north of the monastery and halfway up to Buffavento. This is presumably the same as the ruinous (vaulted) chapel mentioned by Tsiknopoullos next to what he identified as the remains of a cell.²¹⁶ Whether these structures ever belonged to the Maronite community or not, one thing is certain: the Maronite monastery was established on the slopes of Mount Koutsovendis somewhere near the Greek community. The formal relationship between the two—if there was one—is not known. Later sources pertaining to the Greek community reveal nothing about it. Do we have here a parallel ethnic establishment, following the pattern attested, for example, at Saint Symeon on the Wondrous Mountain, which had Greek, Latin, and Georgian communities?²¹⁷ Had we been able to demonstrate that the Maronite monastery was dedicated to Chrysostomos, such co-existing communities would have been likely. But this is not the case.

These notices constitute the earliest evidence for the presence of Maronites on Cyprus. The monks attested therein may have issued from a well-established community scattered among the villages known in later centuries to have been Maronite; they could also have been sent to the island from the mainland to run the monastery. Most modern literature argues for the former option, placing the first

214 The toponym, very rare, occurs only once elsewhere on Cyprus, in the vicinity of the monastery of Machairas in the Troodos Mountains: it is marked on H. H. Kitchener's *Trigonometrical Survey of the Island of Cyprus* (London, 1885), but does not appear on the modern Ordnance Survey maps of the island.

215 The evidence consists mostly of 16th- and 17th-c. manuscript notes and lists of villages (Breydy, *Geschichte*, 227–31; E. Oberhummer, *Die Insel Cypern, eine Landeskunde auf historischer Grundlage*

[Munich, 1903], 38; Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 182 [above, n. 59]; Z. N. Tsirpanles, *Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων τοῦ Βατικανοῦ* [1625–1667] [Nicosia, 1973], 181). In the late medieval period there was another Maronite monastery in the area, Saint George Attalou (Grivaud, “Villages désertés,” 174–75 [above, n. 182]). A late tradition purports that the village of Koutsovendis, too, had been a Maronite settlement (M. Bardswell, “A Visit to Some of the Maronite Villages of Cyprus,” *Eastern Churches Quarterly* 3 [1938–39]: 307).

216 Tsiknopoullos, *Ἡ ἱερὰ μονὴ τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου*, 26 (above, n. 173). Although probably one of the ruined chapels recorded by E. Lewis in *A Lady's Impressions of Cyprus in 1893* (London, 1894), 328, it is unclear if it is also to be identified with what Pierre Dib refers to as “le monastère, détruit depuis plus de trois siècles, [qui] se trouvait sur le penchant de la colline, à quelque cinquante mètres au-dessous du sommet” (Dib, *L'église maronite*, 152 n. 2).

217 Djobadze, *Materials*, 87–89 (above, n. 33).

settlements in as early as the seventh century.²¹⁸ In view of the lack of evidence, however, definite proof is impossible.²¹⁹ The case of the Maronite monastery may be similar to that of the Georgian establishment near Yialia, mentioned earlier (see p. 42 above), where there is no evidence to suggest that it was linked to a larger Georgian presence on the island at that time.

If we assume that the foundation of the Maronite monastery is roughly contemporary with that of the Greek community next door, we might wonder whether Eumathios Philokales played a role in the installation of Maronite monks on Cyprus. Such an act would have made excellent sense. The Maronites were the most powerful Christian group in Lebanon and did, in fact, offer significant help in the establishment of the county of Tripoli.²²⁰ To maintain a Byzantine presence on the Lebanese coast and keep in touch with developments in the county, it was clearly helpful to have a line of communication with local Christian elements. By installing a number of Maronite monks in an area to which he had close links, Philokales would have been able to keep his finger on this vital connection. Nor did this usefulness necessarily cease when, under Bertrand, the county broke its links with Byzantium to become a fief of the kingdom of Jerusalem. We can also understand that when, under the Lusignans, there occurred a more massive Maronite immigration into Cyprus, the newcomers would have gravitated toward a district with which they had already certain ties.

The Monastery after the Byzantine Period

The history of the monastery after the end of Byzantine rule in Cyprus is not well documented. It is not known if and how the establishment of Latin domination (1192) and of a Latin church on the island (1196) affected the community and the properties that it must have surely

218 L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan* (Paris, 1852–61), 1: 108–9; Kyrris, “Military Colonies,” 174 (above, n. 209); Dib, *L'église maronite*, 175, and Dib, *Histoire de l'église maronite* (Beirut, 1962), 71 [9th c.?). The best recent discussion of the evidence is by G. Grivaud, “Les minorités orientales à Chypre (époques médiévales et moderne),” in *Chypre et la Méditerranée orientale: Formations identitaires, perspectives historiques et enjeux contemporains: Actes du colloque tenu à Lyon, 1997*, ed. Y. Ioannou, F. Métral, and M. Yon (Lyon, 2000), 53–57.

219 The claim is largely based on the assumption that the Maronites were descended from Mardaites said to have been settled on Cyprus in the late 7th c.; but the alleged association between the Mardaites and Maronites has been shown to be unsubstantiated (M. Moosa, *The Maronites in History* [Syracuse, 1986], 193).

220 There is considerable disagreement on the question of how strong the Maronite element may have been in the county's population; for opposing views see J. Richard, *Le comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine (1102–1187)* (Paris, 1945), 86, and J. Prawer, “Social Classes in

the Crusader States: The ‘Minorities,’” in *A History of the Crusades*, 2nd ed., ed. K. Setton, vol. 5, *The impact of the Crusades on the Near East*, ed. N. P. Zacour and H. W. Hazard (Madison, 1985), 90.

possessed. There is no indication that Koutsovendis was ever taken over by western monks, as was the monastery of Stavrovouni.²²¹ It is surely significant that in this very period, shortly after the change of rule, an updated (?) version of its typikon was produced, as we saw earlier. Thus not only did the community survive the upheavals, but it asserted its Orthodox traditions in the face of western intrusion, as did other establishments on the island (Enkleistra, Machairas).²²² Unlike the nearby Apsinthiotissa, no evidence in any medieval or later source suggests that Koutsovendis ever developed into a center of pilgrimage,²²³ although it did possess a relic of the True Cross at the time of its foundation, and later on, as we shall see shortly, it also housed a relic of a minor saint. The typikon mentions neither a hospice/guest-house among the monastery's buildings, nor a monk in charge of one among its officers, as was often the case in other monastic documents (see pp. 50, 53 above).

As we saw earlier, some monks and their hegumen John traveled to Constantinople probably soon after the city's fall to the Crusaders (see pp. 77–78 above). We next hear of Koutsovendis a few years later: two monks named John and Konon left Kalon Oros near Attaleia,²²⁴ perhaps because of the Seljuk conquest of the region,²²⁵ sailed across the sea to Cyprus, and went up to the monastery of Machairas in the Troodos Mountains. Their subsequent search for the ideal monastic retreat brought them, together with their companions Matthew and Theodore, to Koutsovendis. They were not particularly impressed by

221 On the impact of the change of rule see T. Papadopoulos, “Ἡ ἐκκλησία Κύπρου κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς Φραγκοκρατίας,” in Papadopoulos, *Ιστορία* 4, 1:543–602 (above, n. 95); J. Richard, “Les révoltes chypriotes de 1191–1192 et les inféodations de Guy de Lusignan,” in *Montjoie: Studies in Crusader History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith, and R. Hiestand (Aldershot, 1997), 126–28; N. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195–1312* (Aldershot, 1997), 251–317; P. Edbury, “Some Cultural Implications of the Latin Conquest of Cyprus,” in *Cyprus: The Legacy: Historic Landmarks That Influenced the Art of Cyprus. Late Bronze Age to A.D. 1600*, ed. J. A. Koumoulides (Bethesda, Maryland, 1999), 99–110; and the most compelling recent discussion by C. Schabel, “Religion,” in *Cyprus: Society and Culture 1191–1374*, ed. A. Nicolaou-Konnari and C. Schabel (Leiden, 2005), 157–218, in particular 184–90, and Schabel, “The Status of the Greek

Clergy in Early Frankish Cyprus,” in *Sweet Land ... Lectures on the History and Culture of Cyprus*, ed. J. Chrysostomides and C. Dendrinos (Camberley, 2006), 170–77.

222 The foundation typika of Neilos for Machairas and Neophytos the Recluse for the Enkleistra (second version) date from this period (1210 and 1214 respectively) (Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακά Τυπικά* [above, n. 48]).

223 Although on the map of Leonida Attar (1542) Koutsovendis is marked with a symbol used for important pilgrimage shrines (I owe this reference, as well as those to unpublished archival material mentioned below, to the anonymous reader of the historical section, to whom I am most grateful); see F. Cavazzana Romanelli and G. Grivaud, *Cyprus 1542: The Great Map of the Island by Leonida Attar* (Nicosia, 2006); see also, by the same authors, “Cipro 1542. La grande mappa dell'isola di Leonida Attar,” in *Cipro-Venezia. Comuni sorti storiche, Atene*

1–3 Marzo 2001, ed. C. Maltezou (Venice, 2002), 289–314. Apsinthiotissa is mentioned in 1473 as a goal of pilgrimage for the people of Kyrenia on the feastday of the Dormition (15 August) and again in 1489, when visited by Queen Caterina Cornaro prior to her departure from Cyprus (G. Kechagioglou, *Τζώρτζης Μπουστρός, Διήγησις Κρόνικας Κύπρου* [Nicosia, 1997], 166, 316).

224 On the identification of Kalon Oros, which is often erroneously said to be Mount Athos, see G. Mercati, “Macaire Caloritès et Constantin Anagnostès,” *ROC* 2 (1920–22): 164–66.

225 S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971), 133; Attaleia was occupied in 1207 and brought under firm Turkish control soon thereafter (C. Foss, “The Cities of Pamphylia,” in *Foss, Cities, Fortresses and Villages of Byzantine Asia Minor* [Aldershot, 1996], study 4: 12–13).

the place, though (the reasons are not given), and very soon moved on, settling finally at the Theotokos Kantariotissa, near the castle of Kantara at the eastern edge of the Kyrenia Mountains, where they were joined by more recruits. The Kantara monks were later prosecuted by the Latin Church, imprisoned in Nicosia, and burnt at the stake in May 1231 for upholding the Orthodox doctrine on the leavened host.²²⁶

This was a troubled period on the island, for a civil war (known as the Lombard war) had erupted in 1229 and spilled over to the mainland Crusader states before coming to an end in 1233. It poised the supporters of one of the kingdom's most powerful families, the Ibelins, against those of the German emperor Frederick II, who attempted to impose his (until then nominal) suzerainty over Cyprus.²²⁷ Most of the hostilities took place in the area between Nicosia and the defenses of the north coast, including of course Buffavento. According to a much later account, in the early stages of the conflict the castle was held by William of Rivet, one of the five baillies to whom the regency of the kingdom was entrusted during the minority of Henry I, and was besieged by John of Ibelin, Lord of Beirut and leader of the "royalist" faction.²²⁸ In early 1232 John's daughter-in-law Eschiva of Montbéliard fled Nicosia at the approach of the emperor's armies and sought refuge in the castle that she provisioned.²²⁹ The turning point of the struggle occurred in June of the same year when the imperial troops were defeated at the battle of Agridi, at the southern entrance to the main pass through the Kyrenia Mountains, some 9 miles (14 km) west of Koutsovendis. The war ended in the spring of 1233 with the surrender of Kyrenia to the Ibelins. As in 1191, the monks of Koutsovendis must have witnessed from a close distance the events unfolding in the vicinity of their monastery. To what extent they were directly affected is impossible to tell. But the wider region did experience considerable damage—it was the main theater of operations after all—and nearby Kythrea is known to have suffered: its mills, vital to the local economy, were destroyed by the advancing imperial troops in the summer of 1232.²³⁰

226 The most recent edition of the text which gives this story, written by an anonymous contemporary author, is by T. Papadopoulos, "Μαρτύριον Κυπρίων," in *Τόμος ἀναμνηστικός ἐπὶ τῇ 50ετηρίδι τοῦ περιοδικοῦ Ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας (1918–1968)* (Nicosia, 1975), 307–38. For a narrative of the events leading to the monks' death, see Papadopoulos, "Ἡ ἐκκλησία Κύπρου," I: 571–82 (above, n. 221). The date is given in a note in the early 14th-c. Palat. gr. 367

(P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, 3 vols. [Vienna, 1975], I: 199).

227 P. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991), 48–65, with a discussion of the source evidence.

228 Mas Latrie, *Florio Bustron*, 78 (above, n. 68). See also the comments of J. L. La Monte in P. de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus*, trans. and ed. J. L. La Monte (New York, 1936), 102 n.1.

229 S. Melani, *Filippo da Novara, Guerra de Federico II in Oriente (1223–1242)* (Naples, 1994), 172.

230 "[The imperial forces] mistrent feu par my les aires, et partout le plain [the Mesaoria]; et ce fist grant damage . . . et avoyent brisé tous les molins de la Queterie" (Melani, *Filippo da Novara*, 180; Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, 67).

In 1301 the community of Koutsovendis hosted a guest from a rather surprising background. The journey to Cyprus of the Catalan philosopher and Franciscan monk Ramon Lull was part of his preaching activities around Europe and the Mediterranean. Having heard that the Mongol sultan had attacked Syria, he resolved to visit the East. He spent most of the second half of 1301 in Cyprus, even though Henry II banned him from preaching against the kingdom's Jacobites and Nestorians. After being taken ill, he spent some time "in monasterio sancti Iohannis Crisostomi" recuperating and writing his rhetorical treatise *Rhetorica Nova*, which he finished there in September.²³¹ He then left the monastery to meet Jacques de Molay, Grand Master of the Temple (at the order's headquarters in Limassol?), and by December he was in Famagusta where he composed another tract (*Liber de Natura*) before sailing to Ayas and then back to the West.²³² It would have been extremely interesting to know something about the reaction of the Koutsovendis monks to their eminent guest's views, but the historical record fails us yet again.

No document from Koutsovendis other than the typikon has been preserved. There is, however, some evidence for a *brebion* that may have originated in the monastery. The fourteenth-century Vat. Pal. gr. 367 contains examples of genuine and model letters, minutes of meetings, and legal documents, often copies of thirteenth-century originals, and was meant to be used as a guide to the composition of such documents.²³³ It also includes an inventory of an unnamed church (f. 99r); this may be modeled on a *brebion* from Koutsovendis, for it mentions a church of the Theotokos of the Cemetery and, as we saw earlier, a chapel outside the monastery is described in the typikon in precisely the same terms; this constitutes the only (admittedly weak) evidence for its possible origin. The main value of the *brebion* for our purposes would reside in the reference to a *metochion* (at an

231 The *Rhetorica Nova* was written in Catalan but survives only in a Latin translation made in Genoa in 1303 (J. Rubió Balaguer, "L'expressió literaria en l'obra lul·liana," *Estudios Lulianos* 5 [1961]: 140). There is little doubt that the monastery of Chrysostomos where Lull stayed is that of Koutsovendis, for no other establishment with this dedication is known on the island.

232 On Lull's activities in Cyprus, see A. Bonner, trans. and ed., *Selected Works of Ramon Lull (1232–1316)*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1985), 1: 39–40; G. Grivaud, "Ο πνευματικός

βίος καὶ ἡ γραμματολογία κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς Φραγκοκρατίας," in Papadopoulos, *Ιστορία* 5, 2: 1045–46 (above, n. 95), and Grivaud, "Literature," in Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel, *Cyprus: Society and Culture*, 269–70 (above, n. 123); E. Moutsopoulos, "Un penseur majeur catalan du XIII^e siècle à Chypre: Ramón Llull," in *Πρακτικά τοῦ Τρίτου Διεθνoῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (Nicosia, 2001), 2: 85–87.

233 Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 153–65 no. 31 (above, n. 24).

unnamed location), for there is virtually no other information on the properties of Koutsovendis.²³⁴

In the fifteenth century Leontios Machairas reports in his much-quoted chronicle that at some unspecified earlier date the skull of Saint Epiphanius, one of the so-called Alaman saints, was removed from the abandoned chapel housing his tomb near Kythrea, together with the icons, and taken to Koutsovendis for safekeeping.²³⁵ This relic clearly belongs to some minor saint and not to Epiphanius of Salamis, for the latter was buried in the island's late antique capital Salamis/Constantia²³⁶ and his relic or parts of it are attested in later centuries in both Famagusta (near Salamis) and Constantinople.²³⁷ Machairas does not mention explicitly the monastery as the relic's new home, and he could very well be referring to the nearby village of Koutsovendis, although the latter's existence is not recorded until the sixteenth century. But Florio Bustron's somewhat later account makes clear that it was indeed at the monastery that the relic was placed. Bustron (writing before the Ottoman conquest of 1570–71) may have himself seen the skull in question at the monastery; moreover, being a notary and translator of official documents in the service of the Venetian administration on the island, he had access to numerous earlier sources. One such could be that known to us through a

234 Βρέβιον τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπάντων τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας τῆσδε ἱερῶν σκευῶν, ἀγίων τε καὶ σεβασμιῶν εἰκόνων, ἐπιπλῶν, βιβλίων, μανουαλίων καὶ λοιπῶν, γεγεννημένον κατὰ τὸν ὁδεῖνα μῆναν τῆς ἐνεστώσης τῆσδε ἰνδικτιῶνος. Ἡμέληται μὲν ἕως ἄρτι καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐλογίζετο ἡ ὥς ἐν τάξει βρεβίου καταγραφῆ· ἀλλ' ἡμῶν γε οὐ δίκαιον κατεφάνη ἐν παρασχεδαρίῳ εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην καταγραφὴν καὶ κατὰληψιν τὴν ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἱερῶν ἀπάντων. Διὸ καὶ ἀριδηλότερον ταύτην ποιησάμενοι θελήσει καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπάντων ὀφθαλμοῖς προκείμενα κατεγράψαν, ἵν' ἔχοιεν καὶ οἱ μεθ' ἡμᾶς τὴν εἰδησιν ἀπλανῆ καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐν μηδενὶ κατὰ πλάνην ζημίαν ὑφίστασθαι. Ποτήριον ἀργυρὸν, δίσκος, κρατὴρ, μνάκια ἢ τοι λαβίδες, ἀστερίσκος, ἀτμός, θυμιατὸν, ῥιπίδιον, κατζίον, κάμπτρον (?), σταυρὸς, περιστέρα, κυθροκάνδηλον, κανδήλα, μανουάλιον, ξεστίον, Εὐαγγέλια, Τετραεὐαγγέλια, βιβλία ἕτερα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, κοντάκια τῆς ἐκκλησίας, διὰ τῶν σεπτῶν καὶ ἁγίων εἰκόνων, διὰ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων τῶν δοθέντων ἐν τῇ τοῦ μετοχίου τοῦδε, ὁμοίως καὶ διὰ τῶν βιβλίων τοῦ αὐτοῦ μετοχίου. διὰ

τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων τῶν οὐσῶν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τοῦ Κοιμητηρίου (S. Lampros, "Κυπριακὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἔγγραφα ἐκ τοῦ Παλατινοῦ κώδικος 367 τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Βατικανοῦ," *Νέος Ἑλλ.* 14 [1917]: 23–24). In the mid-20th c. the monastery owned properties nearby, at the villages of Koutsovendis and Sykhari, but also further afield, at Argaka in the Paphos district (State Archives SA1/581/1949, SA1/1832/1950).

235 Pieris and Nicolaou-Konnari, *Λεοντίου Μαχαίρα Χρονικό της Κύπρου*, 82–83 (ed. Dawkins, *Leontios Makhairas*, 1: 30 [above, n. 28]); the latest among the three surviving manuscripts of the text (Ravenna Bibl. Classense 187) gives Kophinou (near the south coast) rather than Koutsovendis as the place where the relic was translated. According to Tsiknopoullos, *Ἡ ἱερὰ μονὴ τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου*, 49 (above, n. 179), the ruins of Epiphanius's shrine were located ca. 3 miles to the southeast of Koutsovendis. On the "Alaman" saints see C. Kyrris, "The 'Three Hundred Alaman Saints'" (above, n. 117).

236 Delehay, "Saints de Chypre," 252 (above, n. 28).

237 Among the relics donated to the abbey of Cormery by Guillelmus, the monk mentioned above (p. 43) in connection with the relic of Saint James the Persian, was one of Epiphanius of Salamis (presumably acquired in either the Holy Land or Constantinople). Epiphanius's relic was reported still at Salamis in 1345 (P. G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano* [Florence, 1906–27], 4: 447); in the 16th c. the sepulcher (sarcophagus?) of the saint with a Greek inscription was allegedly discovered and subsequently taken to the Greek cathedral in Famagusta, where it is attested in 1566 (Mas Latrie, *Florio Bustron*, 18 [above, n. 68]; Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 78 [above, n. 59]). The dubious report of the alleged translation of the relic by Leo VI from Cyprus to Constantinople does not appear until the late 18th c. (Archimandrite Kyprianos, *Ἱστορία χρονολογικὴ τῆς νήσου Κύπρου* [Venice, 1788], 32) and was most probably inspired by that of the relic of Lazarus in ca. 900. On Epiphanius's *synaxis* in Constantinople, see Eastern Orthodox Church, *Synaxarium*, 675–77 (above, n. 85).



Fig. 3 Holy Trinity chapel, Koutsovendis, coat-of-arms scratched on south wall. Photo by C. Mango

sixteenth-century Greek manuscript (British Museum Add. 34554, mentioned earlier in connection with the Helena legend) believed to copy an earlier (later fourteenth century?) text and which Machairas himself is thought to have used.²³⁸ The detail concerning the deposition of the relic at the monastery of Koutsovendis appears in the British Museum manuscript too. If this information is not a later interpolation and was indeed included in the assumed archetype, then we would have a terminus ante quem for the translation. One possibility is that this may have taken place at the time of the civil war of 1229–33 when, as we already saw, Kythrea was badly affected. The fate of the skull after its transfer is unknown. Later visitors to the monastery fail to mention it.²³⁹

Monastic life at Koutsovendis continued into the Venetian period (1489–1570/71), when it was listed among the island’s functioning Orthodox establishments and indeed frequented by visitors who left their marks on the walls of both the Holy Trinity (fig. 3)²⁴⁰

²³⁸ Grivaud, “Villages désertés,” 464 (above, n. 182); Mas Latric, *Florio Bustron*, 34; Grivaud, “Πνευματικὸς βίος,” 1154–68 (above, n. 232); Papadopoulos, “Ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαιοτάτης ἱστορίας τοῦ πατριαρχείου Ἱεροσολύμων,” 29 (above, n. 55). On the date of the lost source, see n. 55 above.

²³⁹ According to a document of 1353 instituting an annual commemoration for Saint Epiphanius in the Latin cathedral of Saint Sophia in Nicosia, the skull of an Epiphanius (clearly thought to be of Salamis) was venerated there at the time; there is no evidence though to link this to the relic at Koutsovendis (text in Coureas and Schabel,

The Cartulary, 310 [above, n. 58]; English translation in C. Schabel, *The Synodicon Nicosiense and Other Documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus, 1196–1373* [Nicosia, 2001], 366).

²⁴⁰ A coat-of-arms was scratched next to the figure of John the Baptist in the Anastasis scene on the south wall: heater-shaped escutcheon with molets of six points at dexter chief, sinister chief and middle base, and at fess point what appears to be a triple mountain (?); it is flanked by the initials A. M. and the date 15 April 1506 (Mango, “Monastery of Chrysostomos,” figs. 86–88 [above, n. 2]). Although no

identical arms appear in any of the major publications on Cypriot and Italian heraldry, those of the Montagna of Verona and of the Marzupini of Arezzo are rather close to our example (V. Rolland, *Planches de l’armorial général de J.-B. Rietstap* [Paris, 1912], 4: plates 158, 230); for another similar example, see E. Morando di Custozza, *Armoriale Veronese* [Verona, 1976], plate 180 no. 1615).

and the cemetery chapels.²⁴¹ It was perhaps during this period that some minor building work took place at the monastery: the superstructure of the katholikon narthex was altered and at the parekklesion the roof line was perhaps modified and its structure strengthened by the underpinning of the arches carrying the dome and the filling in of the western recesses (see pp. 104–5 below). There is nevertheless circumstantial evidence that by this time its fortunes had declined. A document of 1522 pertaining to a lawsuit concerning the right of the inhabitants of Nicosia and Kyrenia to exploit monastic estates implies that Koutsovendis had lost its autonomy and became a dependency of the nearby monastery of Apsinthiotissa.²⁴² This may explain why a contemporary list (compiled in ca. 1520) recording the revenues of major landowners in Cyprus, including the most prosperous monastic establishments, omits Koutsovendis, although Apsinthiotissa is included.²⁴³ Another indication that Koutsovendis did not fare particularly well is the lack of evidence for either the commissioning or the production of manuscripts. This was, after all, a very productive period on the island for manuscript copying, yet none appears to be associated with our monastery.²⁴⁴ The later fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries were also a period of intensive artistic activity. But the monastery's surviving medieval churches (the Holy Trinity and the two ruined chapels outside the compound) do not preserve any post-Comnenian frescoes. This dearth contrasts with Apsinthiotissa, where there is evidence for new wall-paintings dating perhaps from late medieval times, when the earlier *Deesis* in the apse was replaced by a Virgin flanked by Archangels; it was perhaps in this period, too, that the church at Apsinthiotissa was repaired and had its vaulting strengthened.²⁴⁵

241 A coat-of-arms of unknown date and ownership with an octopus gules was reported in the past (G. Markou, *Heraldry in Cyprus* [Nicosia, 1983], 44 [121 in the 2003 ed.]). A similar example was recorded in the early 20th c. at a house in Pallouriotissa, Nicosia (G. Jeffery, "The Heraldry of Cyprus," *ProSocAnt* 32 [1919–20]: 212, 218 no. 164).

242 "Santa Maria de Psitia cum sua pertinentia del monastier de San Zuane Chrissostomo nominato Cuzoventi" (G. S. Ploumides, *Κανονισμοί τῆς νήσου Κύπρου (1507–1522)* [Ioannina, 1987], 59). Apsinthiotissa is only an hour's walk from Koutsovendis (Grishin, *A Pilgrim's Account*, 30 [above, n. 62]). A pathway, perhaps dating to medieval times, still runs along the mountain ridge between the two monasteries (I owe this information to Dr Rita

Severis, whom I thank for information on travelers of the Ottoman period too).

243 Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, 3: 503–4 (above, n. 218). On the date of this document see G. Grivaud, "Sur la datation du mémoire de François Attar (ca. 1520)," *CCEC* 10.2 (1988): 31–35. The annual revenue of Apsinthiotissa is recorded as 200 ducats (that of other monasteries ranges between 200 and 600 ducats). An unpublished later list of revenues (1567) includes "Cuciventi" although no sum is given (Civico Museo Correr, cod. Cicogna 3596/15, f. 15v).

244 Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 15–16 (above, n. 24). Some 40% of the manuscripts included in this corpus are dated to the Venetian period and almost half of those were copied at or for monasteries.

245 A. and J. Stylianou, "Ἡ βυζαντινὴ τέχνη κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῆς Φραγκοκρατίας (1191–1570)," in Papadopoulos, *Τοπία* 5, 2: 1238–46, 1318–61 (above, n. 95); A. Papageorgiou, "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1989," *BCH* 114 (1990): 983–85; Papageorgiou, "Ἡ μονὴ Ἀψινθιωτίσσης," 76, 79 (above, n. 8); *BCH* 114 (1990): 983–85. As in the case of Koutsovendis, these late-medieval interventions are difficult to date with any precision.

The Ottoman conquest did nothing to improve the situation of Koutsovendis. Nicosia fell to the advancing Ottoman armies on 9 September 1570. The proximity of the monastery to the city proved to be a distinct disadvantage, for, although Buffavento was presumably not garrisoned since it had been left to fall in ruins and played no significant military role by this time, the area was nevertheless attacked and Koutsovendis was raided and sacked. Its hegumen, whose name has not been recorded, was captured and taken to Constantinople. Soon thereafter he was released and was appointed bishop of Limassol (the last incumbent having been killed during the siege of Nicosia), probably in 1572.²⁴⁶ The buildings of the monastery, and in particular the church (the *katholikon*?), were looted, if we are to believe the testimony of the anonymous author of the *Threnos* of Cyprus, thought to have been composed by an eyewitness to the siege of Nicosia.²⁴⁷ Very soon, however, Koutsovendis recovered and was functioning once more by 1589, when an icon of John Chrysostomos was painted by a certain Loutzios and dedicated to the monastery. Indeed, according to the archimandrite Kyprianos (writing in the late eighteenth century), the abandonment and confiscation of monasteries that followed the Ottoman conquest did not last long, for within fifteen to twenty years most were bought back and reactivated.²⁴⁸ This is also borne out by other sources: a register of the island's settlements compiled for tax purposes in the wake of the conquest lists some sixty monastic establishments, presumably those active on the eve of the change of rule. Yet, despite the subsequent abandonments, their number in 1600 is reported by Archbishop Benjamin to have been sixty-two, suggesting that the upheaval wrought by the

246 B. Arbel, "Ἡ Κύπρος ὑπὸ ἐνετική κυριαρχία," in Papadopoulos, *Τοποία* 4, 1: 474. The adventures of the hegumen are reported by Angelo Calepio, a Dominican monk and an eyewitness of the fall of Nicosia who was himself captured and whose account (written in 1572) was published in Etienne de Lusignan's *Chorographia et breve historia universale dell' isola de Cipro principiando al tempo di Noè per in sino al 1572* (Bologna, 1573), 123a, and again in French in de Lusignan, *Description*, f.290r (above, n. 59); English translation in Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 161 (above, n. 59). The hegumen of Koutsovendis ("monasterio de Cusotumento") is also attested shortly before the conquest, as a signatory to the synod convened by the Latin archbishop of Cyprus, Philip Mocenigo, in 1567; he may be

identical with Hegumen Timotheos ("frate Tymotheo abate del monasterio di Cuzzovendi") who appears as a candidate for the see of Solea in 1568 (Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Capi dei Dieci, Lettere di rettori ed altre cariche*, b. 290, c. 228, and *Senato Mar*, filza 40). In 1575 Bishop Germanos of Amathus signed together with other prelates in Constantinople a patriarchal letter of Jeremias II concerning the privileges of Sinai (K. Delikanes, *Τὰ ἐν τοῖς κώδιξι τοῦ πατριαρχικοῦ ἀρχιεπισκοπικοῦ σωζόμενα ἐπίσημα ἐκκλησιαστικὰ ἔγγραφα (1574–1863)* [Constantinople, 1904], 337); it has been suggested, rather unconvincingly, that he may be identical with the bishop of Limassol and former hegumen of Koutsovendis (Hackett and Papaioannou, *Τοποία*, 1: 259–60 n. 15 [above, n. 2]).

247 Ζημία εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ποῦ ἔλεγον Κοτζοβέντη, ἐκεῖνος ποῦ τὴν ἐκτίσεν εἶναι μέγας αὐθέντης· ἦτον ἡ γῆ μὲ τὸ ψηφὶν ἔμορφα ὠρδινιασμένη, πράσινα, βένετα καὶ ὄξιὰ, κίτρινα σταμπασμένα· ζημία εἰς ἐκεῖνα τ' ἄλλακτὰ τὰ ἐμορφοκαμωμένα, μεταξωτὰ πομάνικα, ποῦ ἔταν χαρκουπιασμένα, μαργαριτάρια ἦταν ἀδρὰ ἀπάνω καθισμένα (T. Papadopoulos, "Ὁ Θρήνος τῆς Κύπρου," *Κύπρ.* Σπ. 44 [1980]: 36). The text survives in 17th- and 18th-c. manuscripts; on its author see Grivaud, "Πνευματικὸς βίος," 1181–89 (above, n. 232).

248 A. Papageorgiou, "Κύπριοι ζωγράφοι φορητῶν εἰκόνων τοῦ 16ου αἰ.," *RDAC* (1975): 180; Kyprianos, *Τοποία χρονολογική*, 306, 308 (above, n. 237); see also Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 4: 305–6 (above, n. 4) and Grivaud, "Villages désertés," 392 (above, n. 182).

conquest, in this respect at least, was short-lived.²⁴⁹ This information may, however, need to be treated with some caution, for it appears in a letter to the duke of Savoy urging him to take action in order to liberate Cyprus from the Ottomans; the Christian character of the island is therefore duly stressed and the number of (active?) monasteries is perhaps exaggerated.

In the same year (1600) we hear of Hegumen Parthenios of Koutsovendis who testified together with other members of the island's clergy against Benjamin's predecessor, Athanasios. The latter was accused of tearing up *antimensia* and conducting unlawful marriages, and was eventually deposed.²⁵⁰ By this time the monastery had become a dependency of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. This is first reported in 1735 by the well-known monk from Kiev, Vasilii Barskii, who was told by the monks that after the destruction of the Ottoman conquest the monastery lay abandoned for a long time. It was then allegedly sold to a private individual, a pious man, who at some later stage went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and donated his property to the Holy Sepulcher. Most eighteenth-century visitors confirm the status of Koutsovendis as a dependency of the Holy Sepulcher. So does the archimandrite Kyprianos, who includes it in his list of functioning monasteries as a *hagiotaphitikon*.²⁵¹ This status Koutsovendis has retained to modern times. It should be stressed that the claim that the monastery had been a metochion of Mar Saba in Palestine since at least the fourteenth century is unfounded and largely based on this later connection with Jerusalem (see n. 109 above).

A report by the titular Latin bishop of Paphos dated to 1629 mentions an unnamed monastery near Buffavento, which is almost certainly to be identified with Koutsovendis. It is said to have housed a community of fifty members, an exceptionally large and probably erroneous number, especially in view of the total number of monks on the island, said to be 370 in the same document. A few decades later, in 1683, Cornelis van Bruyn found eleven monks and three priests under a hegumen.²⁵² The indefatigable Dutch traveler notes that the residential quarters had been recently rebuilt after a fire and also gives a valuable description of the katholikon with its gilded iconostasis, made five years earlier. The ruinous chapel within the compound that

249 Grivaud, "Villages désertés," 109–10, and Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, 3: 568 (above, n. 218).

250 τοῦ Καθηγουμένου τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσορρήμονος Οὐτζεβεντῆ (Delikanes, *Tā en tois kōdixi*, 548). On this affair see Hackett and Papaioannou, *Isotopia*, 1: 261–67.

251 Grishin, *A Pilgrim's Account*, 28–30 (above, n. 62); Kyprianos, *Isotopia chronologikē*, 393.

252 Tsirpanles, *Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα*, 47, 51; Van Bruyn's report also implies the presence of some women at the monastery ("een *Pater Gardiaan*, die drie Priesters, en elf Broeders, onder hem heeft, behalven de

Vrouwen") (*Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn door de vermaardste Deelen van Klein Asie, de Eylanden Scio, Rhodus, Cyprus, Metelino, Stanchio, etc.* . . . [Delft, 1698], 368); this piece of information is omitted in the later French editions.

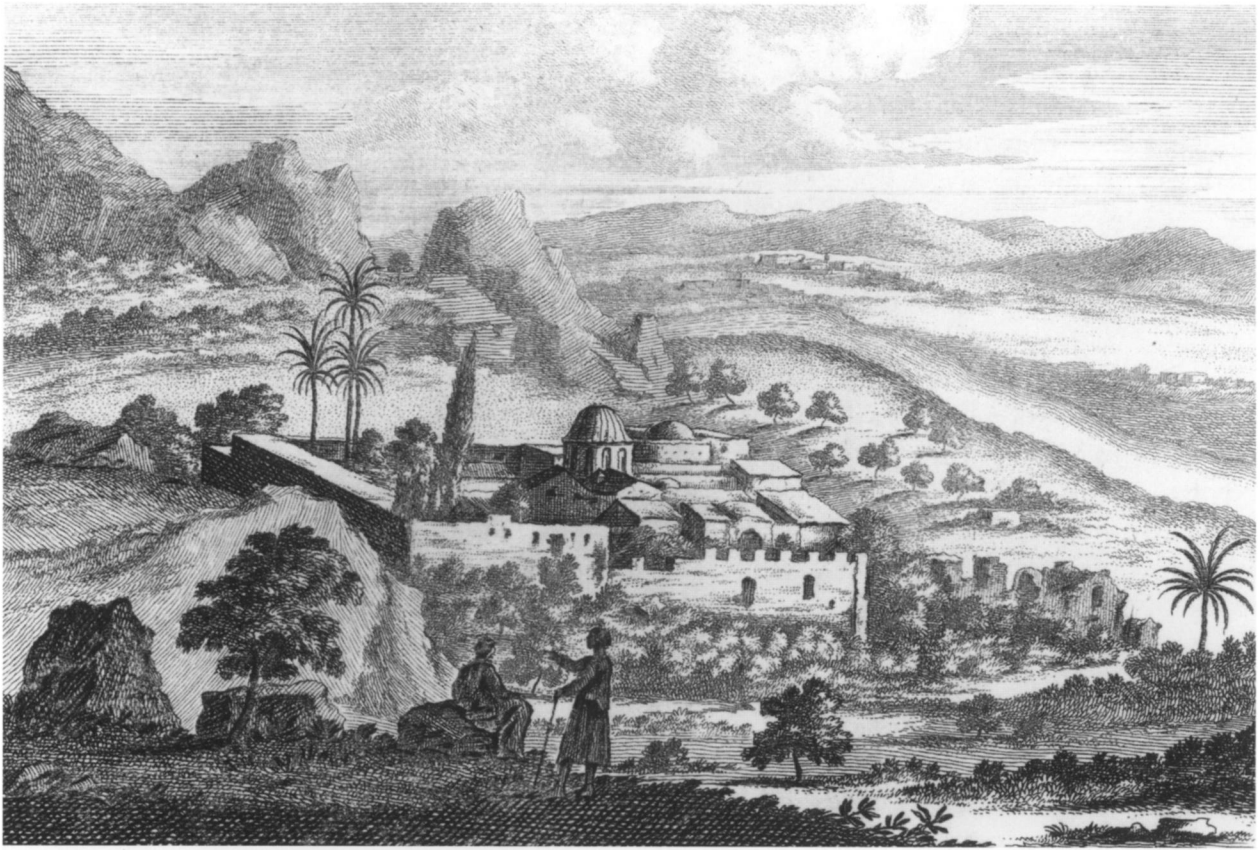


Fig. 4 View of the Koutsovendis monastery in 1683. Sketch after Cornelis van Bruyn in *Reizen*, fig. 197

he mentions is almost certainly that of the Holy Trinity. It is to Van Bruyn that we owe the earliest known depictions of Koutsovendis (fig. 4). He also recounts the foundation legend, which, as we already saw, is not corroborated by the surviving evidence pertaining to the monastery's early history.²⁵³ The legend perhaps has something to do with a sixteenth-century icon preserved (until 1974)²⁵⁴ in the monastery and first attested there in 1806 by Domingo Badia-y-Leyblich (known as Ali Bey).²⁵⁵ It depicts an adult female donor with a young child kneeling before an enthroned Virgin and Child. The accompanying Greek inscription identifies the donors as Maria Molino and Antoninos, son of Philip Molino.²⁵⁶ Behind them stands a saint in bishop's vestments, also identified by inscription as John the Almsgiver (the seventh-century Cypriot patriarch of Alexandria).²⁵⁷ It seems likely that the icon, presumably brought from elsewhere after

²⁵³ Ibid., 368 and figs. 196–97. See also Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 237–38 (above, n. 59), and Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," 64–65 (above, n. 2).

²⁵⁴ The Council of Europe committee (including Robin Cormack) that visited

Koutsovendis in June 1989 found no icons there: *Information Report on the Cultural Heritage of Cyprus Presented by the Committee on Culture and Education* (by Mr Van der Werff), 6 July 1989 ADOC6079 (Parliamentary Assembly, Council of Europe, Doc. 6079, 1989), 25.

²⁵⁵ Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 399–400; Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," 66.

²⁵⁶ Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," 66.

²⁵⁷ A. Papageorgiou, *Icons of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1992), 141–43.

the monastery's reconstitution in the early Ottoman period, gave rise to the story of the princess from Buffavento who allegedly built the monastery as a thanksgiving for her cure.

The ruins of Buffavento on top of the mountain were in fact the main reason why several eighteenth-century and later travelers visited Koutsovendis, on their way to or from the castle, depending on whether they were coming from Nicosia in the plain below or from the northern coast via the mountain pass near Kythrea. The monastery is indeed one of the sites most frequently mentioned by travelers in this period, being one of the main attractions within easy reach of Nicosia. Several of them repeat the foundation story, including Barskii, who arrived at Koutsovendis in the late spring of 1735 fleeing the plague in Nicosia. He found only five or six monks in residence and the parekklesion ready to collapse. But contrary to the preconquest situation, now Apsinthiotissa was a dependency of Koutsovendis (and of the Holy Sepulcher).²⁵⁸ In view of the vicissitudes in the monastery's life, it is not surprising that the community there had lost all memory of its early history, as we already saw. Barskii was nevertheless told that the monastery was first dedicated to the Holy Trinity but was restored at some later stage and rededicated to Chrysostomos in honor of a certain founder John, which corresponds, of course, to the respective original dedications of the contiguous churches. Three years after Barskii, however, Richard Pococke was told that the ruinous north church (the parekklesion of Eumathios Philokales) in what he calls "the rich convent of Chrysostom" was dedicated to Saint Helena, despite being given (through the local members of his retinue?) the correct dedication for the katholikon.²⁵⁹ Alexander Drummond in 1750 noted with some dismay that no records were kept at Koutsovendis.²⁶⁰ In 1767 Giovanni Mariti reported that normally the community was made of ten to twelve monks; in 1806, however, Ali Bey found only three living at the monastery.²⁶¹

In fact the size of the community fluctuated greatly in this period. On 10 July 1821, the day after the island's metropolitan and bishops were executed by the Ottoman authorities following the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence, the hegumen was also put to death together with the superior of Kykko and other prominent prelates. During the troubled period that followed, seven out of its

258 Grishin, *A Pilgrim's Account*, 28–30 (above, n. 62). The monastery of the Panagia, mentioned as a property of the Holy Sepulcher on Cyprus in an Ottoman document of 1591, may in fact be Apsinthiotissa (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ανάλεκτα*, 4.461 [above, n. 109]).

259 Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 260.

See also Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," 65.

260 Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 300–301; Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," 65.

261 For both accounts see Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," 66. Note,

however, that in an unpublished report of 1800 Koutsovendis is said to have housed fourteen monks (Γερὰ Αρχιεπισκοπή Κύπρου, Κατάστιχο 2: 9).

eleven monks, who came mostly from nearby villages (Koutsovendis, Vouno, Sykhari, Mia Milea), abandoned the monastery. These were replaced very soon, though, and in 1825 the community counted ten members.²⁶² By the middle of the century, the fortunes of the monastery had presumably recovered further, for its hegumen is recorded to have made several donations to schools in Nicosia; and in 1848 it was reported that some twenty-five individuals, both monks and laymen, lived there.²⁶³ By the time the eminent Austrian botanist Franz Unger visited in April 1862, however, only one monk was left, although fifteen years earlier his colleague Theodor Kotschy had found more.²⁶⁴

The state of the buildings of the monastery was a constant concern of the *protosynkelloi* of the patriarchate of Jerusalem in this period. In the autumn of 1845 there was considerable damage following heavy rains and, although this was partly repaired, by the end of the decade the monastic buildings, including the katholikon and its dome (ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ ὁ κουππές της), were said to be in a parlous state. Some work was carried out in 1851, but a report of 1876 testifies once more to the poor state of the complex, noting that the katholikon was in urgent need of repairs to its roof.²⁶⁵ By the end of the century its structure must have reached such a state of decay that it was deemed impractical to maintain.

The latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed considerable losses to the medieval heritage of Cyprus.²⁶⁶ One of the most serious documented cases, indeed the most regrettable as far as Byzantine architecture is concerned, occurred at Koutsovendis. Eight hundred years after its construction the katholikon was recklessly pulled down to make room for a new church. According to the inscription over the latter's southwest door, it was built under Patriarch Gerasimos of Jerusalem and was finished in November 1891. That year's census records thirteen male inhabitants at the monastery, but these may have included laymen too. At that time the community

262 Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 4: 134 (above, n. 4); K. Kokkinofas and I. Theocharides, "Μοναστηριακά δεδομένα σύμφωνα με το κατάστιχο VI της αρχιεπισκοπῆς Κύπρου (1825)," *Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετών Ιερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου* 4 (1999): tables 1 and 3. In these years the monastery was also visited by John Carne, whose account adds nothing new to those of others; he found a dozen monks in residence (Martin, *English Texts* [above, n. 2]); see also K. Spyridaki, "Τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ μοναστήριον Ἀγ. Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου καὶ ὁ περιηγητὴς John Carne," in Spyridaki, *Μελέται, διαλέξεις, λόγοι, ἄρθρα* (Nicosia, 1973), 1: 265–68.

263 A. N. Mitsides, "Ἡ προσφορά του κυπριακοῦ μοναχισμοῦ στην παιδεία κατὰ την τουρκοκρατία," *Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετών Ιερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου* 4 (1999): 187; T. Stavrides, *Πατριαρχεῖο Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Κύπρος. Επιστολές 1731–1884*, Κέντρο Μελετών Ιερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου (Nicosia, 2007), 146–147, 396; a large part of the 19th-c. correspondence between Koutsovendis and the patriarchate in Jerusalem concerns the appropriation of lands by the villagers of the area.

264 F. Unger and T. Kotschy, *Die Insel Cypern, ihrer physischen und organischen Natur nach mit Rücksicht auf ihre frühere Geschichte* (Vienna, 1865), 504.

265 Stavrides, *Πατριαρχεῖο Ἱεροσολύμων*, 156, 657.

266 This was noted and deplored by, among others, Edmond Duthoit and later on by George Jeffery (L. Bonato, "Chypre dans les archives de Melchior de Vogüé V. Fragment d'un carnet de voyage d'Edmond Duthoit [mission de 1865]," *CCEC* 31 [2001]: 219, and G. Jeffery, "Notes on Cyprus, 1905," *JRIBA* 13.17 [1906]: 483, 487).

still possessed a few manuscripts, seen in 1889 by the Greek scholar Chrysostomos Papadopoulos.²⁶⁷ Camille Enlart, who spent several months in Cyprus in 1896 studying the island's Gothic monuments, merely mentions "Haïos Chrisostomos, une église à demi rebâtie [the new katholikon], l'autre à demi ruinée, [avec] peintures curieuses." It is unclear if the "ruine au bas de la montagne [Buffavento]," which he includes in a list of lesser Byzantine monuments, refers to the shells of the Aphendrika and the Savior, or to one of the other structures near the monastery (see p. 102 below). Elsewhere in his publication on the island's Gothic architecture he describes briefly the fresco of Saint George in a ruin, which is clearly that of the Panagia Aphendrika.²⁶⁸

The construction of the new katholikon did not prompt the repair of the adjacent parekklesion, which had remained derelict at least since the time of Van Bruyn's visit in the late seventeenth century. Only in the middle of the twentieth century did a concerted effort by the Department of Antiquities to restore the chapel begin; it continued into the 1960s with the restoration and cleaning of the surviving wall paintings under the auspices of Dumbarton Oaks. Meanwhile in 1937 the entire monastic complex was declared an ancient monument and shortly thereafter its buildings were repaired.²⁶⁹ In the aftermath of the violent events of the summer of 1974, Koutsovendis, together with all other monasteries in the northern part of Cyprus, ceased functioning. Nine centuries after the Seljuk advance that perhaps caused George's flight from northern Syria, the successor to the community that he established on Mount Koutsovendis was dissolved as a result of comparable military upheavals. Although still nominally a property of the patriarchate of Jerusalem, the monastery lies today (2007) within a military zone in the Turkish-occupied part of Cyprus and remains inaccessible.

Architecture

The Monastic Complex

The church of the Holy Trinity is today the only building from the Byzantine period surviving in relatively good shape within the monastic complex. The katholikon was replaced in 1891 by a new church, but enough evidence survives to reconstruct its architecture in its broad lines. These two churches will be examined in a roughly

²⁶⁷ Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," 67 (above, n. 2); Hackett and Papaioannou, *Ιστορία*, 2: 151 (above, n. 2); Constantinides and Browning, *Dated Greek Manuscripts*, 29 (above, n. 24).

²⁶⁸ C. Enlart, *L'art gothique et la renaissance en Chypre, illustré de 34 planches et de 421 figures* (Paris, 1899), 1: XX n. 2, 248–49.

²⁶⁹ State Archives SA1/1473/1937 (p. 15), and *Cyprus Gazette* of 21 May 1937.



reverse chronological order of their building phases. First, however, let us briefly look at the scanty evidence for other buildings within and in the vicinity of the monastery.²⁷⁰

The katholikon of 1891 and the medieval parekklesion today stand isolated in the middle of a courtyard, enclosed on three sides by structures (on two levels along the south and east) that date from post-medieval times and until 1974 housed the various spaces necessary to the functioning of a monastery (fig. 5).²⁷¹ This layout must reflect that of earlier centuries too, at least as far as the free-standing contiguous churches are concerned: in the typikon we read that the celebration of the consecration on 9 December involved a procession that started from the narthex of the Holy Trinity, continued outside along the south wall of the katholikon, and proceeded around the churches (presumably along the apses to the east in a counterclockwise

Fig. 5 General view of the Koutsovendis monastery from the northeast. Photo by C. Mango

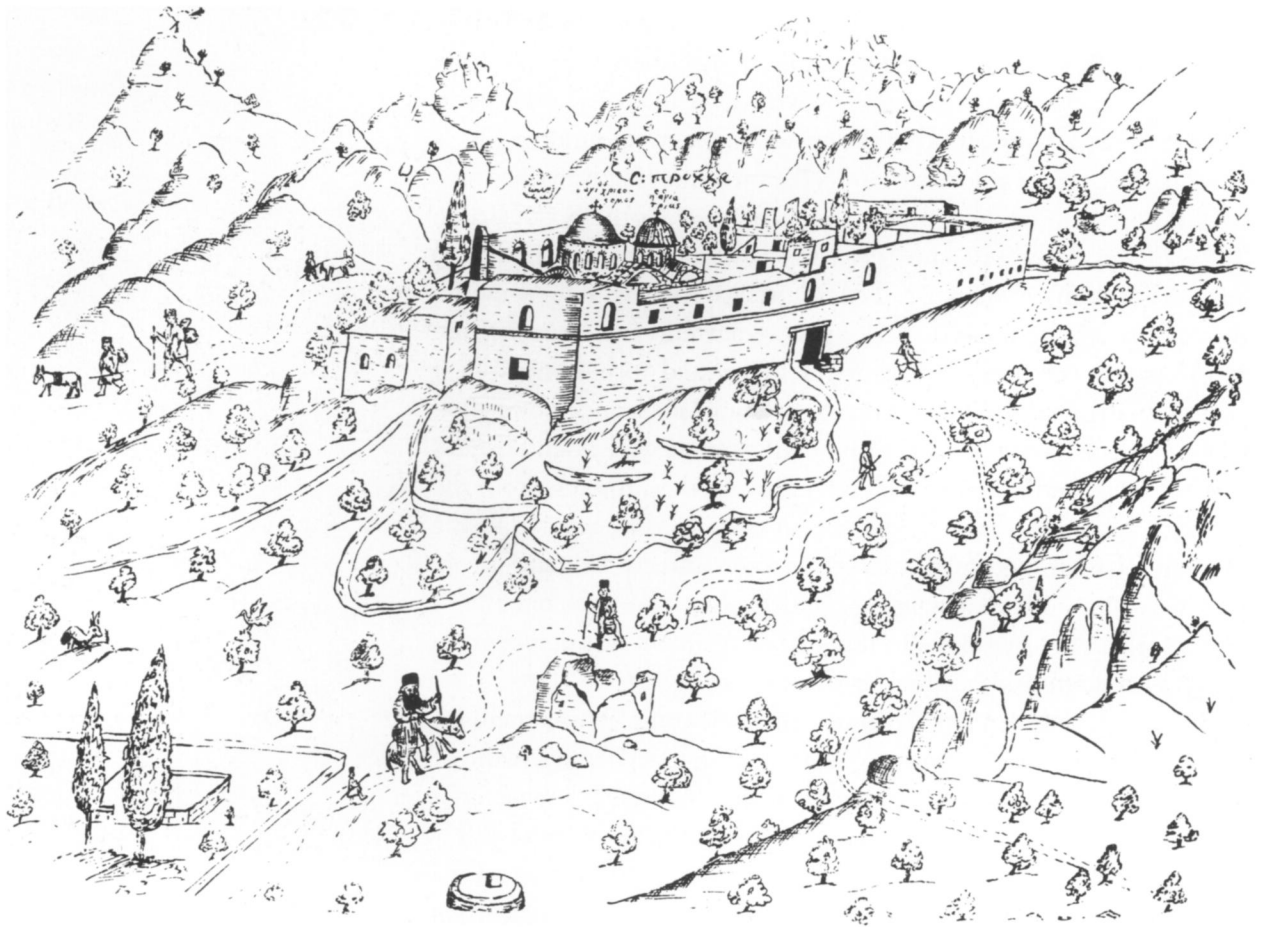
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Fig. 6 The Koutsovendis monastery in 1735. After Vasilii Barskii, in Grishin, *Pilgrim's Account*, plate 8

Fig. 7 The Koutsovendis monastery in 1816. After Otto von Richter, courtesy of the Estonian Historical Archives

²⁷⁰ In that the monastery is still inaccessible today, all the observations that follow are based on previously published material, photographs held in the archives of Dumbarton Oaks and the Department of Antiquities in Nicosia, and the field notes of Cyril Mango.

²⁷¹ The buildings were partly rebuilt shortly before the visit of Van Bruyn in 1683, following a fire that destroyed a large part of the monastery (*Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn*, 368 [above, n. 252]).



direction) entering again through the north door of the Holy Trinity narthex.²⁷² This would suggest that, like today, there were no other buildings attached to the churches which, as in many a medieval Byzantine monastery, stood in the center of the compound.

The west side of the courtyard is the only one that remained free of buildings into modern times. The sketches of Cornelis van Bruyn (1683: fig. 4), Vasilii Barskii (1735: fig. 6), and Otto Friedrich von Richter (1816: fig. 7) show a tall enclosure wall on this side, which in the earliest among these depictions is crenelated.²⁷³ In their written accounts our travelers confirm its existence and forbidding appearance: Van Bruyn talks of the monastery being “surrounded by a good wall,”²⁷⁴ while Barskii also mentions a high stone wall. Richter states that the large and massive monastery looked like a fortress from the outside.²⁷⁵ There is further evidence on the enclosure wall from the first half of the nineteenth century: at some unrecorded date before 1838, part of it collapsed, causing the deterioration of the remaining structure and further losses in 1846. At that time it was described as “tall as a minaret” and “as thick as the walls of a fortress.”²⁷⁶

It is clear, then, that in Ottoman times the complex was encircled by a strong defensive enclosure.²⁷⁷ Whether this dated from Byzantine or later times, however, we are unable to tell. Although monasteries in the Byzantine world were often provided with towers and walls,²⁷⁸ there would seem to be no reason for Koutsovendis to have been fortified at the time of its foundation, considering that the island’s urban settlements, surely much more likely targets for an enemy attack, were but slightly fortified in this period.²⁷⁹ What is more, no other example of a fortified monastery is known from Byzantine Cyprus, although

272 ἐξερχόμεθα . . . εἰς τὸν ἄρθηκα [sic] τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος . . . καὶ λιτανεύομεν, κρατοῦντες τὸ νότιον μέρος τοῦ μεγάλου ναοῦ, καὶ ἀναγυρεύομεν . . . καὶ καταντῶμεν εἰς τὴν βορεινὴν πύλην τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος τοῦ νάρθηκος (Par. gr. 402 f. 59r–v; see also Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie*, 3: 122 [above, n. 11]).

273 Mango, “Monastery of Chrysostomos,” fig. 4, shows an engraving based on but not quite faithful to Otto von Richter’s original sketch, published in R. C. Severis, *Travelling Artists in Cyprus, 1700–1960* (London, 2000), 86. Van Bruyn’s first sketch (Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn, fig. 196) and that by Richter show the monastery from the northwest, whereas Barskii’s, like Van Bruyn’s second sketch (fig. 197), shows it from the southeast. For a brief description of the monastic compound, see also A. P. Kazhdan and A. Wharton Epstein, *Change*

in *Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley, 1985), 88.

274 “met een braave muur omvangen” (Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn, 368); see also Cornelis de Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant*, rev. ed. [Paris, 1725], 2: 484 and Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 237–38 [above, n. 59].

275 Grishin, *A Pilgrim’s Account*, 28–30 (above, n. 62); O. F. von Richter, *Wallfahrten im Morgenlande* (Berlin, 1822), 317–18 (“von aussen gleicht es einer Burg”); A. Sakellarios in his *Tà Kvπpιάxά* (Athens, 1890), 1: 148, calls the monastery ὄχυρὰ μονή. See also Mango, “Monastery of Chrysostomos,” 64–66.

276 Stavrides, *Πατριαρχεῖο Ἱεροσολύμων*, chap. 4 (above, n. 263).

277 Ali Bey’s rather inaccurate and schematic (if we are to judge from his depiction of the churches) drawing of 1806,

on the other hand, shows a low enclosure wall along both the north and west (?) sides (D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis and M. Iacovou, *Βυζαντινὴ μεσαιωνικὴ Κύπρος* [Nicosia, 1997], 283).

278 A. K. Orlandos, *Μοναστηριακὴ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ* (Athens, 1958), 7–12; see also P. Burridge, “Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Monasteries on Mt Athos and Their Architectural Development,” in Mullett and Kirby, *Work and Worship*, 78–89 (above, n. 175), and the recently excavated monastery of Zygyou, also on Mount Athos, in I. A. Papagelos, “Ἡ ἀγιορειτικὴ μονὴ τοῦ Ζυγοῦ (Φραγκόκαστρο),” *Ἡ Δεκάτη. Ενημερωτικὴ ἐκδόση ἔργου τῆς 10ης Εφορείας Βυζαντινῶν Αρχαιοτήτων* 1 (2003/4): 12–18.

279 Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint*, 49–50 (above, n. 4).

monastic compounds were of course usually surrounded by an enclosure. Perhaps the construction of the protective wall at Koutsovendis was prompted by the raids of the mid-twelfth century on Cyprus (Renaud de Châtillon in 1155/56, Egyptian fleet in 1158, Raymond of Tripoli in 1162)²⁸⁰ or by some later threat. The earliest of these attacks, by Renaud de Châtillon, was particularly destructive, and it is probably to this that Neophytos the Recluse referred when he described a battle during which the Byzantine troops stationed on Cyprus were annihilated by the invaders near Dikomo. Neophytos was of course a novice at Koutsovendis at that time (1152–59), and Dikomo lies only a short distance to the west of the monastery, on the southern foothills of the Kyrenia mountains (fig. 2).²⁸¹ The transfer of relics and icons to the monastery from Kythrea at some unknown date before the late fourteenth century (1232?) (see pp. 87–88) suggests that the compound was considered safe enough for the valuable possessions, and therefore perhaps already fortified by that time.

If we assume that in the monastery's early days, too, there were no buildings on the west side, then the trapeza, often facing the west façade of the katholikon in other monasteries, would have to be located in one of the other wings. At the nearby Apsinthiotissa the rectangular vaulted four-bay refectory, which dates from the same period (late eleventh/early twelfth century), is located along the northern perimeter of the compound.²⁸² At Koutsovendis there is no indication as to the location of either this or any of the other buildings mentioned in the typikon (cells, hegumen's apartments, store-room, granary, wine cellar, fountain).²⁸³

The Cemetery Chapels

Only for the cemetery chapel of the Theotokos is there some indication in the typikon concerning its location (Par. gr. 402 f. 264v): it stood outside (ἐξω τῆς μονῆς) and downhill from the main compound, to which the monks "go up" (ἀνερχόμεθα) after the *lite* in the cemetery. It is perhaps to be identified with the ruinous structure known in modern times as Panagia Aphendrika,²⁸⁴ only a very short distance

280 Hill, *History of Cyprus*, 1: 306–8, 311 (above, n. 4); Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint*, 51–52.

281 Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint*, 187–88.

282 P. M. Mylonas, "La trapéza de la Grande lavra au Mont Athos," *CahArch* 35 (1987): 143; Papageorgiou, "Ἡ μονὴ Ἀψινθιωτίσσης," 82–83 (above, n. 8). The rock-cut example at the Enkleistra aside, this is the only surviving (albeit much

restored) Byzantine trapeza on Cyprus (ca. 20 × 5 m).

283 See p. 53. Van Bruyn in 1683 mentioned a large rectangular room, 36 × 18 "Rhineland" (Rynlandsche) feet, used as a kitchen, perhaps the monastery's refectory (Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn), 368 [above, n. 252], and Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," 64 [above, n. 2]; judging by the measurements that Van Bruyn gives for the surviving Gothic refectory at

Bellapais, the "kitchen" at Koutsovendis must have measured ca. 12 × 6 m.

Tsiknopoullos, *Ἡ ἱερὰ μονὴ τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου*, 167 (above, n. 179), places the trapeza to the north of the churches.

284 G. Jeffery, *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus*, *Studies in the Archaeology and Architecture of the Island* (Nicosia, 1918), 273; R. Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus. A Guide to its Towns and Villages, Monasteries and Castles* (London, 1936), 293.

to the south of the monastery and some 800 m to the north of the village of Koutsovendis.²⁸⁵ Only the outer shell of the church survives today. If the roofless structures shown in both Van Bruyn's and Barskii's sketches outside the monastery correspond to the Aphendrika, then this, as well as the contiguous chapel of the Savior to the south, must have been already in ruins by the late seventeenth century.²⁸⁶

The rectangular plan of the Panagia, divided into three bays by two engaged piers on each of the long (south and north) walls that create arched recesses, strongly suggests that it was perhaps domed, for the central bay is larger and roughly square in plan (fig. 8). The masonry is mostly made of rubble with brick used for the arches of the surviving recesses and for the voussoirs of the windows in the apse. The relatively well preserved gabled western façade is pierced by a central doorway surmounted by a now bare tall and large niche that was perhaps originally adorned with fresco decoration (fig. 9).²⁸⁷ The style of the remains of wall-paintings (in particular the Saint George panel in the southwest recess: fig. 10)²⁸⁸ together with the use of slightly pointed rather than semicircular arches would suggest a date in the latter part of the twelfth century, for this form of arch appears in the Byzantine architecture of Cyprus in the second half of the century before gradually becoming the norm on the island.²⁸⁹

We saw earlier that the smaller chapel of the Savior,²⁹⁰ standing contiguously to the south of the Aphendrika, may be that of Saint Lazaros mentioned in the typikon (Par. gr. 402 f. 228v). Since not much of the structure is preserved above ground, however, its vaulting

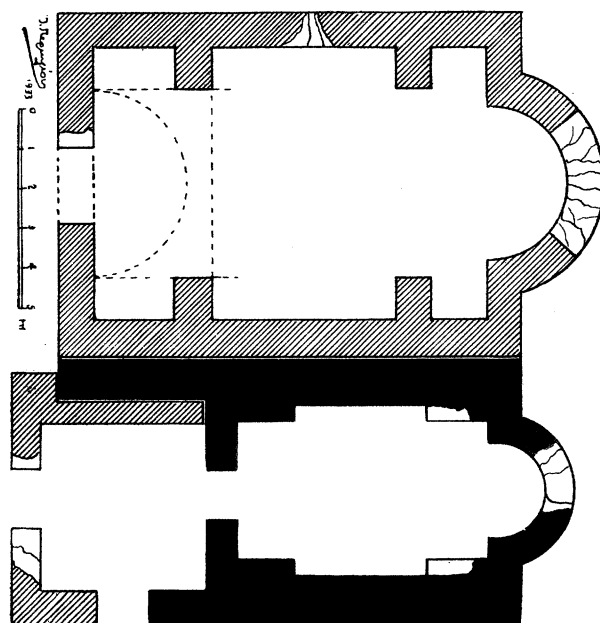


Fig. 8 Plan of the churches of the Panagia Aphendrika and the Savior. After G. Soteriou, *Βυζαντινὰ Μνημεῖα*, fig. 34.

opposite page

Fig. 9 Panagia Aphendrika, view from the west. Photo courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus

Fig. 10 Panagia Aphendrika, fresco of Saint George on horseback. Photo by C. Mango

285 On some mid-20th-c. Ordnance Survey maps the ruin is marked as Saint George, and it also appears with this name in G. Soteriou, *Τὰ βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Κύπρου* (Athens, 1935), plate 30; this is probably due to the surviving fresco in the south-west recess which depicts Saint George on horseback.

286 This was definitely the case by the late 19th c., when Camille Enlart and soon after him George Jeffery described the structures (Enlart, *L'art gothique*, 1: 248–49 [above, n. 268]; G. Jeffery, *A Summary of the Architectural Monuments of Cyprus*, part 6, *Kyrenia District* [Nicosia, 1907], 23).

287 Plan in G. Jeffery, "The Byzantine Churches of Cyprus," *ProSocAnt* 28 (1915–16): 121; and Soteriou, *Βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα*, 45; the dome would have been relatively large, with a diameter of ca. 4.50 m. This layout does not exclude a barrel vault over the central bay, as the example of Asinou shows, although such a scheme is much less common. The apse probably had three windows, of which only two are still partly preserved, shown in the photograph (taken in 1931) published in Soteriou, *Βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα*, plate 30. Some conservation work was carried out in the 1950s (*Annual Report of the Director of Antiquities, Cyprus* [1956]: 15); Tsiknopoullos, *Ἡ ἑρὰ μὲν τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου*, 110 (above, n. 179).

288 Bardswell, "A Visit to Some of the Maronite Villages," 307–8 (above, n. 215); A. and J. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus, Treasures of Byzantine Art*, 2nd ed. (Nicosia, 1997), 467; A. and J. Stylianou, "Ἡ βυζαντινὴ τέχνη," 2: 1264 (above, n. 245).

289 Papacostas, "Byzantine Cyprus," 1: 167–75 (above, n. 4); see also A. J. Wharton, *Art of Empire: Painting and Architecture of the Byzantine Periphery: A Comparative Study of Four Provinces* (University Park, 1988), 56, 81; and pp. 138–39 below.

290 Jeffery, *Description of Historic Monuments*, 273; Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, 293 (above, n. 284).



system remains uncertain. It may have been domed, too, for its interior is rendered cruciform in plan by a single recess along each of the longitudinal walls that create a roughly square bay (fig. 8). The largely rubble masonry employs more brick tiles than does that of the Aphendrika next door. An already damaged tomb (of unknown date) was reported under the floor of the church in the early twentieth century,²⁹¹ and the fresco decoration surviving on the north wall (Crucifixion, Deposition, Anastasis, and the well-known Lamentation) seems to confirm its funerary function.²⁹² These wall paintings are usually ascribed to the early or, at any rate, the first half of the twelfth century; the chapel would thus be earlier than the adjacent Panagia and roughly contemporary with the Holy Trinity parekklesion.²⁹³ At some later date a narthex was added to the west, perhaps after the construction of the north chapel.²⁹⁴

Other Nearby Ruins

Two more chapels have been reported near the monastery, farther uphill on the flank of the mountain. The one marked on Kitchener's map as Saint John Prodromos was mentioned earlier in relation to the Maronite monastery that perhaps stood in the area (see p. 82 above). The other lies very close to Saint John, about 1000 m to the northwest of the monastery, and is known as Saint George.²⁹⁵ It was a single-aisled structure built mostly in rubble except for the arch voussoirs under the (collapsed) dome on its south and north walls, which were made of ashlar blocks. Only the south wall and part of the dome drum over this are preserved, together with some fresco decoration depicting saints in medallions. On the basis of their style, which is very similar to that of the roundels in the western recesses of the Holy Trinity parekklesion, it has been suggested that they may date from the late eleventh century, making this chapel, too, roughly contemporary with the churches within the monastery.²⁹⁶ There is,

291 Jeffery, *Summary: Kyrenia*, 23; Jeffery, *Historic Monuments*, 273.

292 Stylianou, *Painted Churches*, 463–67. The existence of the Lamentation scene attracted the attention of the Department of Antiquities quite early on, and the ruin was consolidated first in 1937 and then again in the 1950s (A. H. S. Megaw, “Repair of Ancient Monuments 1937–39,” *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* [1937–39, publ. 1951]: 181, and *Annual Report of the Director of Antiquities, Cyprus* [1956]: 15).

293 Stylianou, *Painted Churches*, 463–67, and L. Hadermann-Misguich, “La peinture

monumentale du XII^e siècle à Chypre,” *Corsi Rav* 32 (1985): 239.

294 The evidence is contradictory: the traces of fresco decoration on the outer wall of the Aphendrika, which were concealed by the north wall of the narthex, would of course suggest that the latter is a later addition; but this narthex appears to have had a north doorway, which was subsequently blocked, presumably when the Aphendrika was built. The plan published by Soteriou (fig. 8), in *Βυζαντινά μνημεία*, 45 (above, n. 285), shows the north narthex wall as an extension to the north

wall of the Savior and as part of the early phase; the rest of the narthex is shown as an addition to this while the northern door is omitted.

295 It is also marked on H. H. Kitchener's *Trigonometrical Survey of the Island of Cyprus* (London, 1885).

296 *Μεγάλη Κυπριακή Εγκυκλοπαίδεια* 4: 52; photograph and plan in Tsiknopoullos, *Ἡ ἱερὰ μονὴ τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου*, 129–31 (above, n. 179).



Fig. 11 Holy Trinity chapel, Koutsovendis, interior looking west. Photo by C. Mango

however, no information linking Saint George in any way with either the Maronite or the Greek Orthodox monastery. Nevertheless its proximity does suggest a possible, albeit unverifiable connection.

The Parekklesion of the Holy Trinity

The two painted inscriptions on the eastern piers of the parekklesion, uncovered in 1963 after being concealed for centuries under a thick layer of plaster, give the name of the patron, but not the date.²⁹⁷ We have nevertheless seen that, in all likelihood, the building was at least planned before the death of the founder George in ca. 1099 and erected by Eumathios Philokales within a decade after the construction of the adjacent katholikon (see pp. 74–75 above). The reason behind Eumathios's wish to have the chapel built remains uncertain: although a funerary function seems the most likely, its layout offers no relevant clues. The arched recesses in the western bay would have

²⁹⁷ Mango and Hawkins, "Report," 335 (above, n. 122).

been ideal to house an *arcosolium* (fig. 11); yet the fresco decoration of both spaces, with monastic and military saints, is not one readily associated with sepulchral monuments. Moreover the back wall of the north recess is pierced by a window, again rather odd over a burial, and, even more important, under the window there is a small rectangular recess of unknown function. Both arched recesses had the lower part of their walls, where a sarcophagus could have been placed, decorated with a painted *dado* imitating marble.²⁹⁸ The *narthex*, added shortly after the construction of the *parekklesion*, does not provide any evidence for an arrangement to accommodate a sepulchral monument either. It is also noteworthy that the brief entry in the *typikon* pertaining to the commemoration of Eumathios Philokales (f. 121v) omits any reference to the place within the monastery where this should be celebrated. Thus, at the current state of knowledge, one must assume that even if Eumathios did build the Holy Trinity with the intention of being buried in it, he either changed his mind later on, or his wish was not carried out when he died, some twenty years or more after its construction.

The *typikon* provides only meagre evidence on the use of the *parekklesion*. It is specifically mentioned in the context of only half a dozen feastdays: that of Saint John Chrysostomos on 13 November (f. 42v), the *enkainia* of the *katholikon* on 9 December (f. 58r–59v), the eve of Epiphany on 5 January (f. 87r–91v), the Annunciation on 25 March (f. 135v), the Transfiguration on 6 August (f. 176r), and Good Friday (f. 252v). The selection, although small, is nevertheless significant. It includes the commemoration of the Passion, quite appropriate for a funerary chapel (assuming that this is indeed what the *parekklesion* was), and, more important, major feasts associated with the Holy Trinity (Epiphany, Annunciation, Transfiguration); that of the Pentecost, celebrated fifty days after Easter, would have appeared in the last folios now missing from the manuscript. On this occasion an important role would have certainly been assigned to the *parekklesion*, whose fresco decoration after all accorded the most prominent place in the building, in the dome, to the scene of the Pentecost.²⁹⁹ Another two feasts, namely that of John Chrysostomos and the *enkainia*, are of course intimately linked with the adjacent *katholikon*.

The history of the building in subsequent centuries may be reconstructed with the help of travelers' accounts and the evidence from the monument itself. At some unrecorded date almost certainly before the Ottoman conquest (Venetian period?), the structure was strengthened in a rather heavy-handed manner that substantially altered the interior: most of the openings were walled, the western recesses were filled in, the piers under the dome were reinforced with additional masonry, and the arches they carry were underpinned

²⁹⁸ Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," 89–93.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 73.



Fig. 12 Holy Trinity chapel, Koutsovendis, view from the north during repairs. Photo courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus

with lower arches.³⁰⁰ This process of accretion of masonry as a means to stabilize a structure is often encountered in Byzantine monuments on the island and has been explained as a response to the risk or the effects of earthquake damage.³⁰¹ The ungraceful buttress built against the northeast corner of the parekklesion fulfilled the same function. The alterations to the roofline of the building, however, were surely the result of different concerns and may date from a different campaign of repairs. Carefully executed and easily distinguished from the building's original masonry by the use of ashlar blocks, they changed the shape of the gables from rounded to triangular (fig. 12).³⁰²

In the course of the first century of Ottoman rule the Holy Trinity was left to fall in ruins, a process that presumably started during the brief period of abandonment of the monastery in the immediate aftermath of the conquest. By the time of Cornelis van Bruyn's visit (1683) it was already derelict and, according to Barskii, about to

300 Ibid., 69.

301 S. Ćurčić, *Middle Byzantine Architecture on Cyprus: Provincial or Regional?* (Nicosia, 2000), 9–12. Other examples include the Angeloktiste, Apsinthiotissa, Asinou, Saint Barnabas at Salamis, Saints Barnabas and Hilarion

at Peristerona, Panagia of Kambos, Panagia Kanakaria (Papacostas, "Byzantine Cyprus," 2: 6, 12, 18, 19–20, 50, 51, 68 [above, n. 4]).

302 Van Bruyn's sketch (above, fig. 4) shows that the alterations were certainly carried out before the late 17th c.

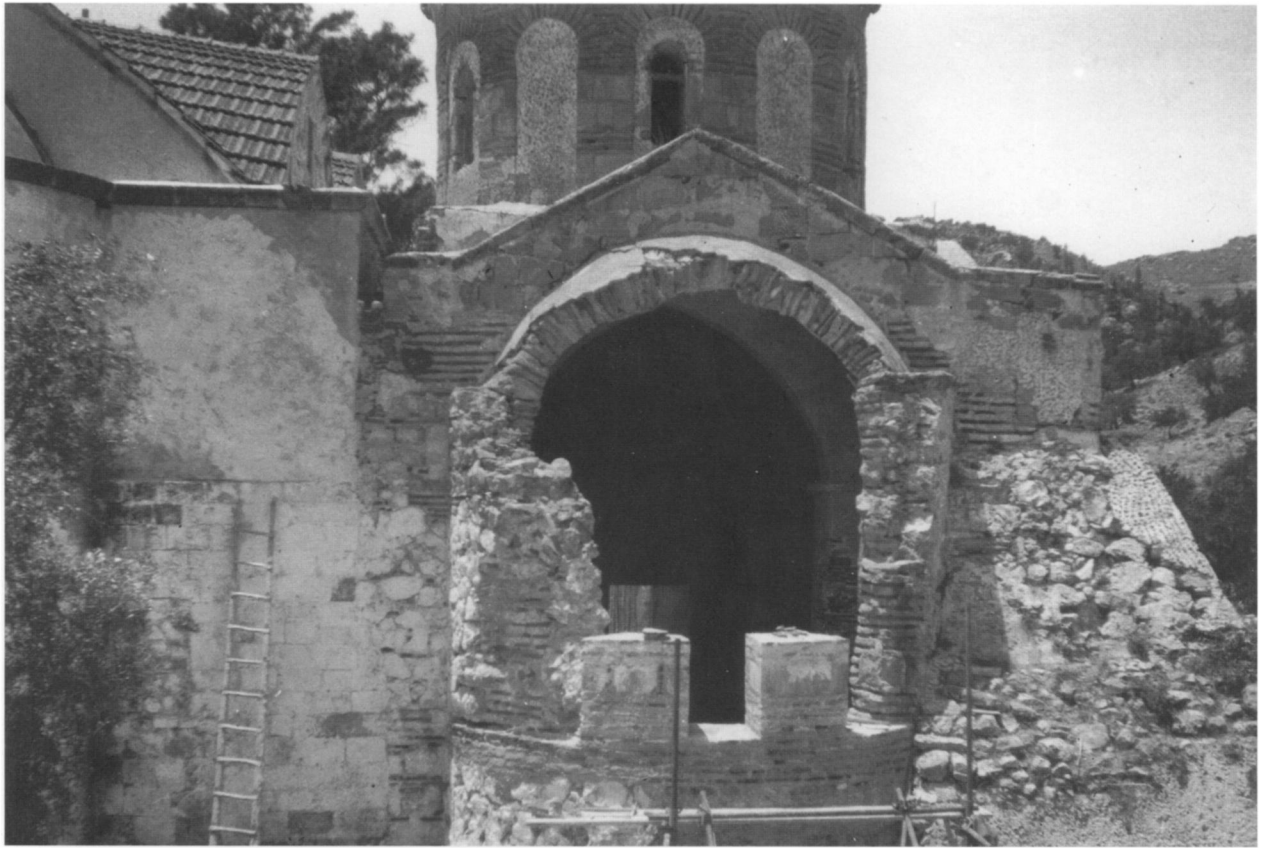


Fig. 13 Holy Trinity chapel, Koutsovendis, the apse during repairs. Photo courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus



Fig. 14 Holy Trinity chapel, Koutsovendis, view from the southwest before repairs. Photo courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus

collapse in 1735; Giovanni Mariti reports that in the 1760s it was used as an animal shed.³⁰³ During this long period of neglect, it lost a large part of its apse wall, almost the entirety of the narthex, and most of its furnishings and decoration. The parekklesion remained in this sorry state despite the reconstruction of the adjacent katholikon in 1891. It was nevertheless one of the first Byzantine monuments on the island to attract the attention of the newly constituted Department of Antiquities (1935), as a result of the perspicacity of its then director, Peter Megaw. In 1942 the apse was rebuilt (fig. 13) and in 1947 the west façade was repaired: a marble frame salvaged from the old katholikon was inserted in the door opening; the brick courses under the relieving arch over this door were removed in order to make room for a window, and a later rectangular window higher up was walled (fig. 14).³⁰⁴ Then in 1956–58 the arches added under the dome, the northeast buttress, and other later accretions were removed and the north door and dome windows that had been walled were reopened, while the masonry and roof were repaired, the original rounded shape of the gables was restored, and the structure was strengthened.³⁰⁵ In the 1960s repairs were made to the surviving north wall of the narthex, the fresco decoration revealed when the later masonry was removed from the interior was cleaned, a new floor was laid, and a new iconostasis was built, made of marble elements, some perhaps salvaged, like the door frame, from the katholikon (fig. 15).³⁰⁶



Fig. 15 Holy Trinity chapel, Koutsovendis interior looking east. Photo by C. Mango

303 Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," 64–67; see also *Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn*, 368 (above, n. 252), and Grishin, *A Pilgrim's Account*, 29 (above, n. 62).

304 State Archives SA1/1473/1937 (p. 22); Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," 70.

305 *Annual Report of the Director of Antiquities, Cyprus* (1956): 15, (1957): 13, (1958): 15; Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," 70. The later additions are shown in the plan published by A. H. S.

Megaw in "Byzantine Architecture and Decoration in Cyprus: Metropolitan or Provincial?" *DOP* 28 (1974): 84.

306 *Annual Report of the Director of Antiquities, Cyprus* (1963): 11, (1970): 13; C. Mango, "Summary of Work Carried out by the Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Center in Cyprus, 1959–1969," *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (1969): 101; Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," 70.

The architectural type of the Holy Trinity, a single-aisled domed structure, is very common on Cyprus. In fact, around one-third of the middle Byzantine churches surviving or excavated on the island were built according to this simple yet effective domed scheme.³⁰⁷ The Holy Trinity is the earliest securely (albeit approximately) dated specimen. Almost everything else about this monument is, however, far less ordinary. The usually squat proportions and organic feeling of buildings of the same period on Cyprus are nowhere to be seen here.³⁰⁸ The masonry is largely brick. This is uncommon in the Byzantine architecture of the island, where the use of brick is limited both geographically and chronologically. It occurs during the early Comnenian period, mostly in window arches and much less often in the wall masonry of monuments situated principally in the north of the island, and is rightly thought to reflect external building practices.³⁰⁹ This argument is largely based on the evidence of the parekklesion, which not only is the Byzantine monument on the island with the most extensive and elaborate use of brick, but also a documented commission of a high-ranking member of the Constantinopolitan elite. The assumption is therefore that the impetus came from the building traditions of the core provinces of the empire, centered on Constantinople where brick was very widely used. Whether this also indicates a direct Constantinopolitan input remains a matter of speculation.

Even more startling is the masonry of the dome, where brick courses alternate with cut stone that is, moreover, framed by bricks (fig. 16), similar to the *cloisonné* technique common in the medieval

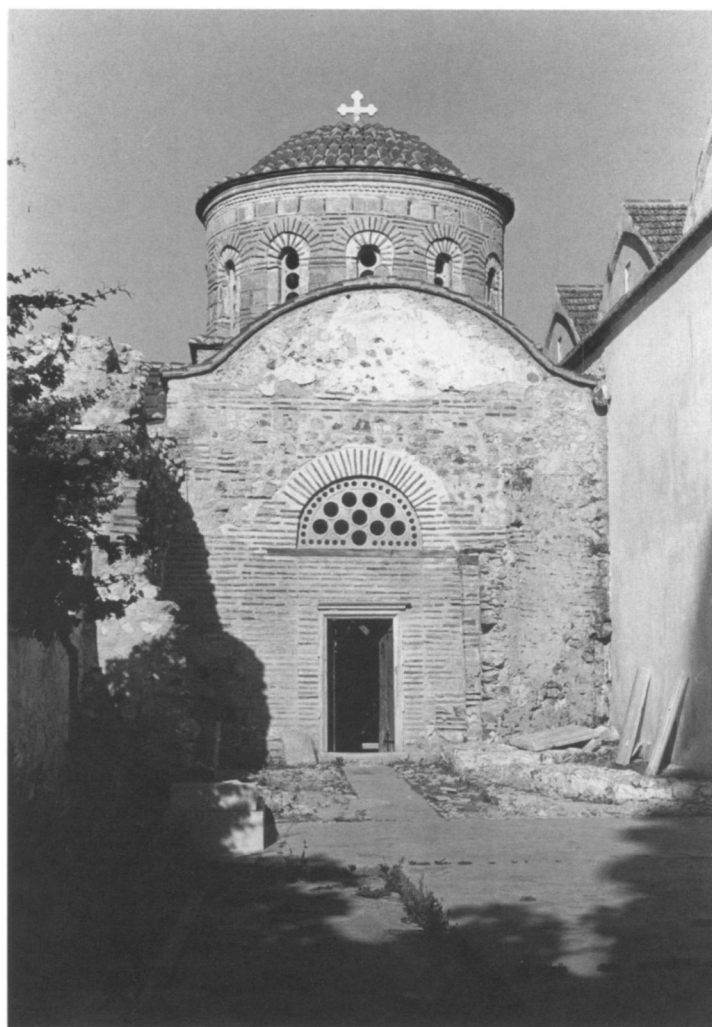


Fig. 16 Holy Trinity chapel, Koutsovendis, view from the west after repairs. Photo by C. Mango

³⁰⁷ More than 30 examples (Papacostas "Byzantine Cyprus," 1: 151–53).

³⁰⁸ The characteristics of middle Byzantine architecture on Cyprus have been set out by S. Ćurčić in "Byzantine Architecture on Cyprus: An Introduction to the Problem of the Genesis of a Regional

Style," in *Medieval Cyprus: Studies in Art, Architecture, and History in Memory of Doula Mouriki*, ed. N. Patterson Ševčenko and C. Moss (Princeton, 1999), 78.

³⁰⁹ Papacostas, "Byzantine Cyprus," 1: 177, with earlier bibliography.

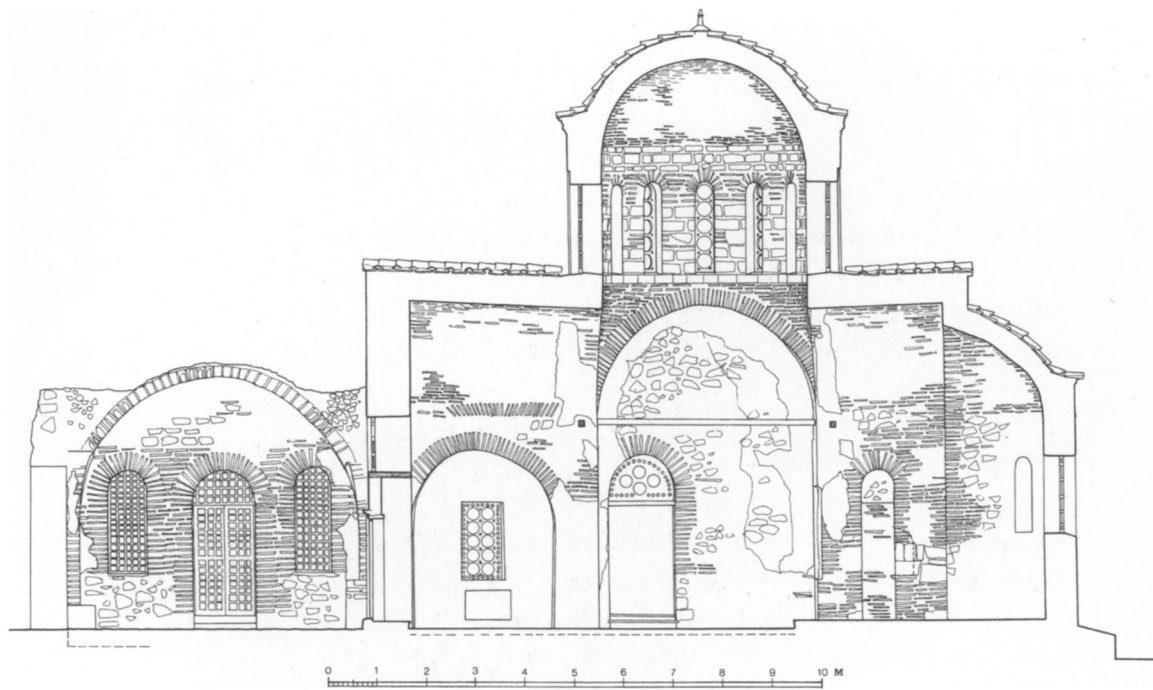


Fig. 17 Holy Trinity chapel, Koutsovendis, longitudinal section looking north. Drawing by Richard Anderson

Byzantine monuments of the Balkans and, again, not attested in any other monument on Cyprus. The twelve windows of the dome are framed by recessed brick arches, very similar to those of the main apse of the katholikon, possibly an indication of the quasi-contemporaneity of the two adjacent structures.³¹⁰ This element might suggest that the same workshop was perhaps responsible for both buildings, although the contrast in their masonry type—overwhelmingly stone (as we shall see shortly) and brick, respectively—would actually suggest otherwise. The difference may be explained by the diverse circumstances of their construction and the information at hand concerning Eumathios: while serving Alexios I, he was often involved with building projects (see pp. 68 and 70 above) and it is therefore possible that he may have employed a workshop, or at least masons, trained beyond the shores of Cyprus in building traditions that used primarily brick.

The structure offers certain valuable clues concerning some of the techniques used in its construction. The traces of sockets still visible in the interior of the dome over the windows were perhaps provided to support scaffolding for the execution of the Pentecost scene in the cupola. Another possibility is, of course, that they may have carried

³¹⁰ The apse wall of the parekklesion with its three windows under single brick arches is a modern reconstruction. Dome drums are usually plain in the surviving Byzantine monuments of Cyprus, although another

rather elaborate but somewhat less well preserved specimen stands at Saint Nicholas of the Roof (Papacostas, "Byzantine Cyprus," 1: 176–87, on façade and dome drum articulation).

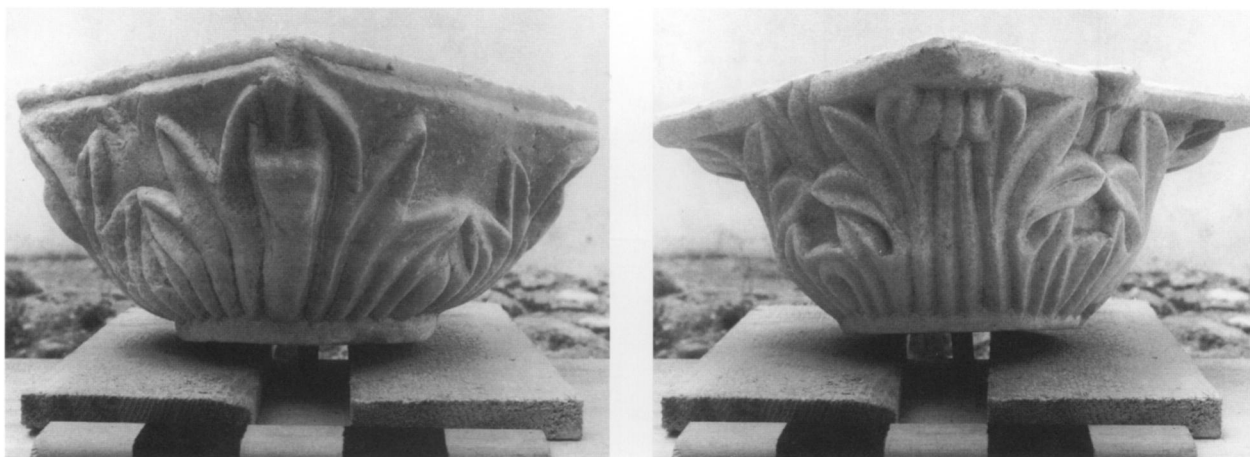


Fig. 18 Holy Trinity chapel, Koutsoyendis, capitals from the templon screen. Photos by C. Mango

beams for the centering of the structure. Although it has been suggested that the latter was perhaps built without formwork,³¹¹ and its irregular shape does indeed imply this, there are also indications that the opposite may have been the case. The cupola was built with flat roof tiles with raised edges that appear to have been placed radially, in a voussoir-like manner, just like the bricks of the (largely rebuilt) conch of the apse (fig. 13). If this is indeed the case, then it is much more likely that the construction of the cupola would have required formwork.³¹² Its irregular shape may be the result of subsequent deformations, which, in various parts of the parekklesion, its masons tried to prevent by inserting wooden beams. The timber ring running around the dome drum at the level of the springing of the window arches had a twofold function: to contain the outward thrust exerted by the cupola and to stabilize the structure.³¹³ The tie beams at the springing of the arches under the dome fulfilled a similar role (figs. 11, 15). It would appear that the chain of beams also extended into the western bay within the thickness of the wall: the regular brick masonry is interrupted over the arched recesses by a row of bricks set on end at a height right above that of the tie beams, presumably over the timbers embedded within the wall (fig. 17).³¹⁴ This reinforcement ring presumably did not extend to the west wall, however, which was interrupted by the upper part of the relieving arch over the door. The use of such a relatively developed system of wooden ties is common in brick architecture³¹⁵ but, obviously, rare on Cyprus. It is yet again a clear indication of imported building techniques at the parekklesion.

311 Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," 69.

312 R. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton, 1999), 216–33.

313 Ibid., 214.

314 The masonry in question is also clearly visible in several photographs published in Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," figs. 24, 140, 162.

315 Ousterhout, *Master Builders*, 210–16.



The furnishings and interior decoration of the Holy Trinity have all but vanished. Only fragments of its wall paintings have been preserved, their superior quality an indication of the patron's means and intentions. No traces of the original floor have survived, although small fragments of opus sectile were reported in the past.³¹⁶ There is no evidence that marble was used for either cornices or other architectural elements.³¹⁷ It was, however, used for the templon. This has not been preserved in its original state. Six colonnettes of Proconnesian marble survived into the twentieth century and were used in 1963 to form a templon screen in the parekklesion (fig. 15). They probably derive from liturgical furnishings in both the katholikon and the Holy Trinity. In the opening years of the century, George Jeffery saw in the parekklesion an iconostasis made of two marble colonnettes and woodwork, the latter presumably dating from the Ottoman period; he also reported two more colonnettes of identical design flanking the apse.³¹⁸ All four must have originated from the initial templon, which must have also included closure slabs.³¹⁹ The surviving capitals, used in the 1963 reconstruction, support this assertion: four are of a similar design based on a single row of acanthus leaves (fig. 18), while another two are perhaps of later date (and, together with the remaining two colonnettes, perhaps originated in the katholikon).³²⁰ The set of four capitals is not of contemporary, late-eleventh-century

316 In the northwest corner next to the door and near the dedicatory inscription by the south wall (A. Papageorgiou, "Ο ναός του αγίου Λαζάρου στη Λάρνακα," *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* [1998]: 223–24).

317 The surviving fresco decoration that reaches the level of the floor shows that the walls were never revetted with marble.

318 Jeffery, *Summary*, 20–21 (above, n. 286); also in *Description*, 273 (above, n. 284). For a comparable example of an earlier templon with columns modified with the addition of carved wooden elements, see that of the Acheiropoietos in Soteriou, *Βυζαντινά μνημεία*, pl. 145 (above, n. 285). The apse colonnettes were presumably moved there from the templon

when its width was reduced following the alterations of the late medieval period (Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," 72).

319 The bases of the colonnettes bear indentations for the insertion of such slabs; a fragment of a slab, of late antique manufacture, was also preserved at the monastery (Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," 72).

320 Described in *ibid.*, 71–72.

manufacture either. They, presumably like the colonnettes themselves, are in fact late antique spolia, and a possible origin may be proposed: they were perhaps removed from the Campanopetra basilica in Salamis/Constantia, which lay in ruins by this period. Several specimens have been excavated at the site of this elaborate late-fifth-century complex.³²¹ Although their precise provenance within the late antique structure remains unknown (in one of the numerous annexes?), their similarities with the Koutsovendis capitals are unmistakable.

The use of spolia is of course a recurrent feature of middle Byzantine architecture, even in the most prestigious imperial foundations. Philokales, holding the highest office in the provincial administration, would have had little trouble organizing the transportation of architectural elements from any part of the island to the building site at Koutsovendis. What is more, additional evidence demonstrates that the ancient city of Salamis/Constantia was indeed used as a source of carved architectural elements and building material in medieval times,³²² for elements from the Campanopetra itself are known to have traveled much farther afield than the not-too-distant slopes of Mount Koutsovendis: four large capitals now at the Museo Regionale in Messina used to decorate that city's cathedral of Santa Maria la Nuova, built in the twelfth century and employing ancient spolia of diverse origins. One of the four, carved out of Proconnesian marble, has been shown to originate from the nave of the Campanopetra.³²³ Although rather surprising, this long-distance movement of spolia across the Mediterranean must be seen within the context of the (admittedly poorly documented) relations between Norman Sicily and Cyprus that developed within the wider framework of the conditions prevailing during the period of the Crusades.³²⁴ Much more surprising is the fact that marble features so little in the medieval Byzantine architecture of Cyprus, considering that there must have existed numerous ruined late antique sites such as that of the Campanopetra during this period on the island. One should nevertheless remember that we know next to nothing about the decoration of contemporary urban monuments, which have vanished without a trace.

321 Roux, *Basilique de Campanopétra*, figs. 341–50 (above, n. 61).

322 One of the 7th-c. inscriptions from its aqueduct was incorporated in the masonry of the church at Trikomo, and lime kilns were installed among the ruined structures of the Campanopetra in the Crusader period (Sodini, “Les inscriptions de l’aqueduc,” 628 [above, n. 67]; and G.

Argoud, “Fours à pain et fours à chaux byzantins de Salamine,” in Yon, *Salamine de Chypre*, 329–39 [above, n. 61]).

323 Roux, *Basilique de Campanopétra*, 243; M. A. Mastelloni, “Un’ officina di periodo normanno legata all’Archimandritato del S.mo Salvatore in lingua Phari ed alcuni materiali scultorei messinesi,” in *Calabria bizantina: Il territorio greco da*

Leucopetra a Capo Bruzzano, X Incontro di Studi Bizantini, Reggio Calabria, 4–6 ottobre 1991 (Soveria Mannelli, 1995), 157; J.-P. Sodini, “La basilique de la Campanopétra en Chypre,” *JRA* 13.2 (2000): 775.
324 Papacostas, “Secular Landholdings,” 482–84 (above, n. 9).

The Narthex of the Parekklesion

The narthex was added shortly after the erection of the Holy Trinity. Its layout was conditioned by the protruding north apse of the adjacent narthex of the katholikon with which it communicated through a door (fig. 19). This resulted in an unusual configuration: the narthex is deeper than it is wide; it was covered by a groin vault resting on small engaged piers at its corners.³²⁵ Its masonry, although not bonded with that of the parekklesion, is also made mostly of brick. The north wall, the only one still standing, is pierced by two rather tall windows (fig. 20), almost unique in the surviving Byzantine monuments of Cyprus whose windows are, as a rule, small.³²⁶ Together with the door that they flank, they would have allowed abundant light into the narthex, which would of course not have had any windows on its south wall. The only other source of light would have been the door on the west wall and possibly an additional window to the north of this door (the southern portion of the west wall being blocked by the apse of the katholikon narthex). The fate of the narthex through the centuries presumably followed closely that of the parekklesion. Its vault must have collapsed during the Ottoman period, when the latter was no longer used for religious purposes, and was never rebuilt.

The Katholikon

Any observations one ventures to make about a building destroyed more than a century ago are bound to be conjectural, and any proposed reconstruction tentative and partial. Nevertheless the speculative essay that follows will attempt to do precisely this, based as much as possible on the available evidence. Our knowledge of the architecture and decoration of the katholikon is primarily based on earlier documents. Indeed, it is by a sheer stroke of good luck that we have an architectural plan, made shortly before 1891 by William Williams (fig. 21). This is both reasonably detailed and, crucially, reliable.³²⁷ It shows to the south of the Holy Trinity parekklesion a relatively large church comprising the following elements:

325 Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," 71.

326 The façades of Saint Lazaros (Larnaca) were also pierced by tall windows, which were, however, altered in the Ottoman period (Papageorgiou, "Ο ναός του αγίου Λαζάρου," 217–18 [above, n. 316]). The tall openings of the narthex may also indicate that it could have been an open porch, although no such examples are attested on Cyprus from the middle Byzantine period.

327 Williams (born 1856) was a draftsman and architect employed by the colonial administration (from 1878 to 1919) on various important projects (see K. W. Schaar, M. Given, and G. Theodorou, *Under the Clock, Colonial Architecture and History in Cyprus, 1878–1960* [Nicosia, 1995], 27–30, 46–47). The plan was first published by Jeffery in "Byzantine Churches," 115 (above, n. 287). Williams's line drawings for Major J. Tankerville Chamberlayne's *Lacrimae*

Nicossienses, Recueil des inscriptions funéraires, la plupart françaises, existant encore dans l'île de Chypre, suivi d'un armorial chypriote et d'une description topographique et archéologique (Paris, 1894), a corpus of funerary slabs from Nicosia, testify to his skills as a draftsman.

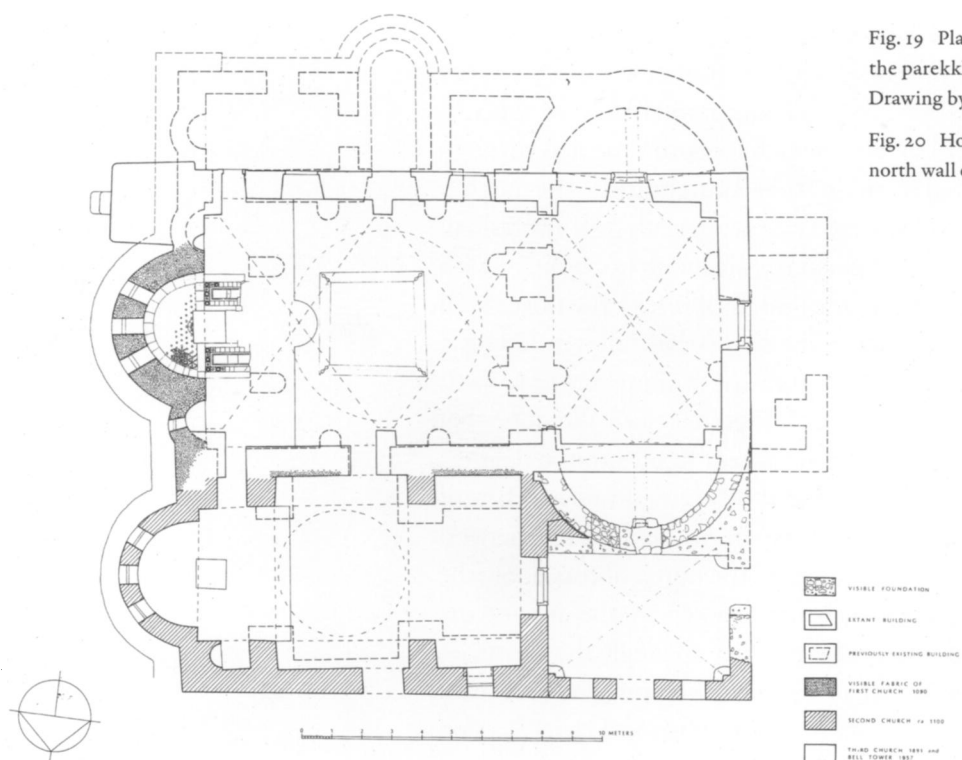


Fig. 19 Plan of the katholikon and the parekklesion of Koutsovendis. Drawing by Richard Anderson

Fig. 20 Holy Trinity chapel, Koutsovendis, north wall of the narthex. Photo by C. Mango



1. Sanctuary with three protruding semi-circular apses.

2. Naos with a large dome (ca. 6.50 m) carried on eight engaged semicircular supports: two each on the north, south, and west walls, and two attached to square piers on the bema side and thus appearing as freestanding supports

3. Vaulted narthex with large apses to the north and south, communicating through three doors with the naos

4. An additional structure (porch?) to the west of the narthex, with a staircase in its northern part

5. Small apsed chamber to the south of the sanctuary which communicates with it through a door, while it also opens to the courtyard in the south and into a passage to its west leading out of the naos

6. Another chamber squeezed between this passage and the south apse of the narthex, accessible only from the naos

With the exception of no. 4, all these elements together with the Holy Trinity and its narthex are shown by Williams as belonging to the same building phase which is of course not the case, although we have seen that they were built within a very short period, perhaps in the course of a single decade. Despite the wholesale destruction of the katholikon, a few elements from the above structures have been preserved: the lower part of the sanctuary apses and most of the north wall, which is shared with the (mercifully spared) Holy Trinity, were incorporated into the new church. Traces of the northern apse of the narthex are still visible outside the north wall of the new building, while certain parts of its medieval predecessor's decoration, including opus sectile floor panels, marble door frames, colonnettes and capitals, as well as two wooden door valves, have also survived.³²⁸ These decorative features will be discussed later.

The Skeuophylakion

The liturgical typikon of the monastery, as we saw earlier, mentions certain parts of the katholikon, but of course it does not provide any concrete information on their layout or appearance. Thus the precise location of the skeuophylakion, which is always mentioned in connection with the True Cross relic, eludes us, although it would seem that it was not far from the naos and at any rate certainly not outside the complex formed by the two adjacent churches. A plausible candidate might be the chamber of unspecified function (no. 6) to the south of the katholikon. This was probably added after the construction of the

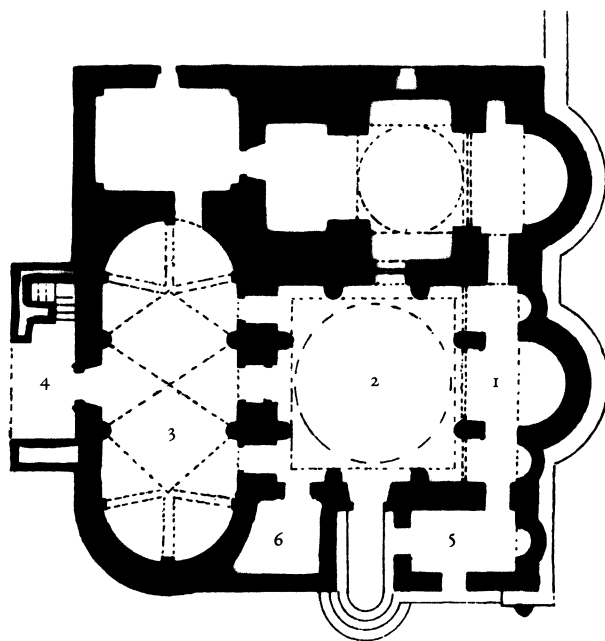


Fig. 21 Plan of the original katholikon and the parekklesion of Koutsovendis before 1891. After W. Williams in Jeffery, "Byzantine Churches," fig. 3a

³²⁸ Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," 67–68.

narthex, for its south wall appears to extend westward, enveloping the south apse of the latter.³²⁹

Another perhaps less likely possibility is provided by the existence of the staircase in front of the narthex (no. 4): this is probably to be identified with the fourteen steps mentioned by Cornelis van Bruyn, who states that they led to a chamber above the church. Thus, it appears that (at least in the seventeenth century) the flight of stairs gave access to some small construction of unknown form on top of the narthex. There is of course the possibility that the narthex itself was a two-story structure, like that of the Panagia Chalkeon in Thessalonike or the Eski Imaret Camii in Constantinople,³³⁰ although at Koutsovendis there is no evidence whatsoever for such an elaborate arrangement; what is more, the apsidal configuration would result in an awkward scheme that, although not inconceivable, has no known precedent. That the elevated structure was presumably a discreet one is shown by depictions of the monastery from the Ottoman period, when the upper chamber is also attested: these do not show any tall construction other than the domes of the two churches that dominate the compound.

An upper chamber would surely be a safe place to keep the relic of the True Cross, certainly the most prized possession of the community. Skeuophylakia in other monasteries are known to have been located in a similar position: the rock-cut Enkleistra of Neophytos had its own over the narthex, while later on at the Great Meteoron it was situated on top of the large four-column narthex (*lite*) at the monastery's katholikon.³³¹ The plausibility of this suggestion obviously depends on the (unknown) date of the staircase and the upper chamber. Neither is attested before the seventeenth century. Could they have formed part of the original scheme? It is of course futile to speculate about the dating of a no longer surviving structure; but the evidence indicates that the vaulting of the narthex was altered in the later medieval period.³³² This would in turn have affected any construction sitting on top. What is more, the fact that the staircase is contained within an external structure suggests that

329 This is implied by the excessive thickness of this apse wall on Williams's plan.

330 "By veertien trappen opwaarts gaad men boven op dit Kerkje, daar men een Grotte ontmoet" (*Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn*, 368 [above, n. 252]; note that the Eski Imaret Camii is no longer to be identified with the foundation of Anna Dalassene (C. Mango, "Where at Constantinople Was the Monastery of Christos Pantepoptes?" *Δελτ. Χριστ. Αρχ. Έτ.* 20 [1998]: 87–88).

331 Tsiknopoullos, *Κυπριακά τυπικά*, 90 (above, n. 48): "ὁ νάρθηξ καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ ὑπερῶν σκευοφυλάκιον"; Orlandos, *Μοναστηριακὴ ἀρχιτεκτονική*, 74 (above, n. 278). A slight indication that the skeuophylakion at Evergetis in Constantinople may have been located in a similar position is provided by the verb used in that monastery's synaxarion in connection with the True Cross relic that was kept there: it was "brought down"

(καταβιβάζουσι) to the church; see Jordan, *The Synaxarion*, 52 (above, n. 102), and also Rodley, "Evergetis," 26 (above, n. 86). It has been suggested that the upper floor of the northern annex at the church of Christ in Chora may have also served as a skeuophylakion (R. G. Ousterhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul* [Washington, D.C., 1987], 51).

332 Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," 68.



Fig. 22 Panagia Apsinthiotissa, view from the west. Photo by T. Papacostas

this, together with the elevated chamber, may not belong to the early building phase. The nearby church at Apsinthiotissa whose architecture, as we shall see shortly, is in many respects related to that of our katholikon, also has a (largely rebuilt) porchlike structure attached to the west of its apsidal narthex, although in this case no staircase is attested (fig. 22). Apsinthiotissa's porch may be contemporary with its narthex, although, like the latter's vault, it was altered in subsequent centuries.³³³

The Apsed Chamber

The katholikon was flanked to the south by a rectangular apsed chamber (fig. 21, no. 5), which communicated through a door with its sanctuary. Its function remains uncertain and quite puzzling. It is not mentioned by any of the travelers who left accounts of their

³³³ Papageorgiou in "Ἡ μονὴ Ἀψινθιωτίσσης," 75 (above, n. 8), where a late medieval date is suggested for the porch; the remains of fresco decoration on its walls, however, appear to belong to an earlier period (12th c.?). There is another example of an elevated chamber not far from Koutsovendis, albeit from an altogether

different architectural tradition: at the Augustinian (and later Premonstratensian) abbey of Bellapais on the other side of the Kyrenia Mountains, the small rib-vaulted treasury was located over the north aisle of the early-13th-c. Gothic church, from where it was accessible via a spiral staircase within the thickness of the north wall

(Enlart, *L'art gothique*, 1: 203–5 [above, n. 268] and P. Plagnieux and T. Soulard, "L'abbaye de Bellapais," in *L'art gothique en Chypre*, ed. J.-B. de Vaivre and P. Plagnieux, *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 34 [Paris, 2006], 200).

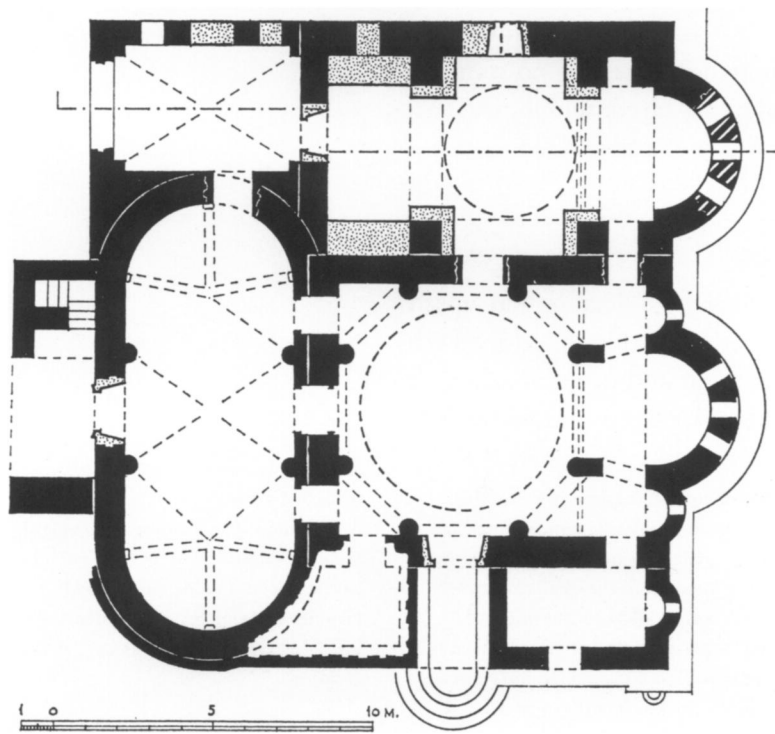


Fig. 23 Katholikon and parekklesion, Koutsovendis, view from the east. Photo by C. Mango

Fig. 24 Plan of the original katholikon and the parekklesion of Koutsovendis. After Megaw, "Byzantine Architecture," 84

visit to Koutsovendis. The typikon does not provide any clues either, for no side chapel is mentioned in connection with the katholikon. There is, of course, the reference to the skeuophylakion. It is nevertheless highly unlikely that this was located here, considering that its primary function, as we just saw, was that of a safe repository for a piece of the True Cross; the apsed chamber was rather exposed, being easily accessible through no fewer than three doors, despite its small size (ca. 2.50×4.40 m). It remains therefore much more likely that it did function as a subsidiary chapel after all, perhaps with a funerary vocation although, again, there is no textual or archaeological evidence for either an arcosolium or a grave pit.

The evidence concerning its place within the overall chronological sequence of the complex is also problematic, being both extremely meager and contradictory, and only further archaeological investigation may shed light on both this and its precise function. Today nothing survives of its structure, although the area it occupied was left outside the perimeter of the new church of 1891. The alignment of its south (outer) wall with that of the chamber of unknown function farther to the west (fig. 21, no. 6), however, may suggest that it was built at the same time as the latter and therefore later than were both the naos and the narthex. There is nevertheless another indication that contradicts this hypothesis.

A bell tower erected in 1957 now conceals the surviving original lower masonry at the southeast corner of the katholikon, where the chapel would have been attached (fig. 23). It is therefore impossible to ascertain whether the sanctuary's outer (east) wall could have extended farther to the south, to form the chapel's apse, thus making the latter integral to the rest of the building (the plan published by Peter Megaw shows the chapel as an addition: see fig. 24).³³⁴ But in the corresponding position to the north of the katholikon, the surviving masonry of the 1090 phase remains visible and is quite distinct from that of the Holy Trinity with which it merges: its lower courses (up to ca. 2 m from ground level) extend slightly beyond the northern limit of the katholikon (fig. 25),³³⁵ which may indicate the existence



Fig. 25 Katholikon and parekklesion of Koutsovendis, the apse wall. Photo by C. Mango

³³⁴ Megaw, "Byzantine architecture," fig. 1 (above, n. 305).

³³⁵ Also published in Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," fig. 8.

of a bonding structure, possibly a symmetrically placed northern chapel belonging to the same building phase as the main body of the katholikon.³³⁶ This northern chapel would have been demolished when the Holy Trinity was built. Thus, according to this conjectural scheme, the east wall of the katholikon in its earliest phase could have perhaps comprised five apses, in an arrangement reminiscent of (but much less elaborate than) that of the early-tenth-century church of Constantine Lips in Constantinople.

The Narthex of the Katholikon

The katholikon is usually said to have been built without a narthex.³³⁷ This assumption is based on the excessive thickness of the naos-narthex wall shown on Williams's plan, which suggests a double wall:³³⁸ had the two structures belonged to the same building phase, this would of course be unnecessary. There is nevertheless no doubt that the narthex was added very shortly after the completion of the katholikon in 1090 and before the construction of the Holy Trinity parekklesion a few years later, since the latter's west door had to be placed asymmetrically so as to avoid opening out onto its north apse. An additional indication of the quasi-contemporaneity of katholikon naos and narthex, and indeed a clear hint that the latter was part of the initial project (even if it was executed slightly later), is the fact that its engaged semi-circular piers are placed along the same east-west axis as are those of the naos itself.

If we assume that this feature of the narthex dates from its conception (and there is no reason to suggest otherwise), it raises a question as to its vaulting: what were these engaged piers built to carry?³³⁹ I have already alluded to the alterations that the superstructure underwent at some later stage. The similar narthex at Apsinthiotissa, which could shed some light on the vaulting at Koutsovendis, was also altered—its central bay was covered by a ribbed vault; the springing of its original groin vault is, however, visible on the east and west walls.³⁴⁰ At Koutsovendis the two apses, almost certainly covered with semi-domes initially, also received ribbed vaults (as shown on Williams's plan). If we assume that they rose to the same height as the rest of the vaulting, the original semidomes presumably merged into or gave way to barrel vaults extending up to the central bay, formed

³³⁶ Such a layout would correspond to the twin satellite arrangement as defined by S. Ćurčić in "Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Churches," *JSAH* 36 (1977): 97.

³³⁷ See, for example, A. Papageorgiou, "L'architecture de la période byzantine à

Chypre," *CorsiRav* 32 (1985): 330.

³³⁸ Indicated by the results of the brief excavation of 1957 in the new church, as reported by Tsiknopoullos in *Ἡ τέχνη τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου*, 94–96 (above, n. 179); see also the plan published by Megaw (fig. 24).

³³⁹ They are explicitly mentioned by Unger and Kotschy, *Die Insel Cypern*, 514 (above, n. 264): "Gewölbvorsprüngen die bis an den Boden reichen."

³⁴⁰ Papageorgiou, "Ἡ μονὴ Ἀψινθιωτίσσης," 75 (above, n. 8).

by the engaged piers. By the nineteenth century the latter was covered with a groin vault. Was this the case in Byzantine times, too? The engaged piers would perhaps suggest a slightly different scheme: they must have served as supports for transversal arches across the narthex (east-west), otherwise their existence cannot be justified. Considering that Williams on his plan does not indicate the arches across the corners of the naos (which would have created the squinches necessary to transfer the charges of the dome down to its eight supports), one wonders whether the transversal arches of the narthex were still standing but simply omitted from the architectural plan. Be that as it may, it is difficult to imagine that they would have carried a dome over the central bay (as for example in the narthex of the Panagia Kanakaria),³⁴¹ for the latter is too much elongated for even an irregular, elliptical dome base (ca. 3 m 60 × 5 m), although it has to be said that examples of regular domes over rectangular bays do occur in the architecture of this period outside the island.³⁴² A domical vault is probably to be excluded too, for the same reason.

There remain two possibilities: a barrel vault is one, for on the one hand it poses no constructional problem, but on the other it does not require the transversal arches, which would have merely served to underpin the long vault covering the entire space of the narthex. The second and more likely option would be a groin vault, different from that shown on Williams's plan in that it does not merge into the vaulting of the lateral bays (if that is indeed what Williams saw), but is separated from them by the transversal arches. Although groin vaults are rarely used in the middle Byzantine architecture of Cyprus (fig. 26), this was a common type outside the island.³⁴³ We have already seen that the narthex of the parekklesion was also covered by a groin vault; this

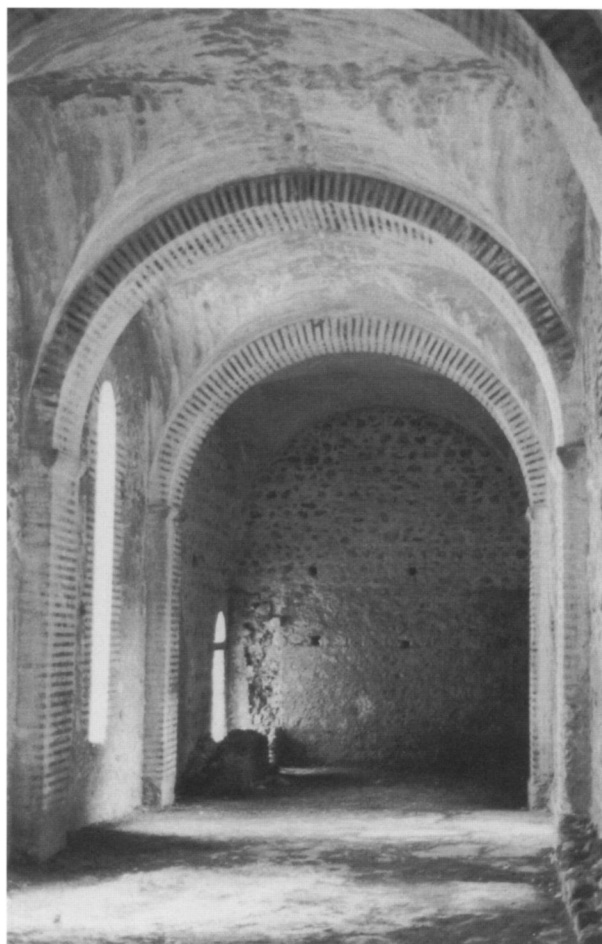


Fig. 26 Panagia Apsinthiotissa, the refectory. Photo by T. Papacostas

341 A. H. S. Megaw and E. J. W. Hawkins, *The Church of the Panagia Kanakariá at Lythrakomi in Cyprus: Its Mosaics and Frescoes* (Washington, D.C., 1977), 34.

A domed scheme for both the Koutsovendis and the Apsinthiotissa narthex is implied by A. Papageorgiou in "Crusader Influence on the Byzantine Art of Cyprus," in *Cyprus and the Crusades: Papers given at the International Conference "Cyprus and the*

Crusades," Nicosia, 6–9 September 1994, ed. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith (Nicosia, 1995), 275.

342 See, for example, the three domes over the outer narthex of Nea Moni, in C. Bouras, *Nea Moni on Chios: History and Architecture*, trans. D. A. Harvey (Athens, 1982), 58–59. R. Ousterhout has cast some doubt over Bouras's dating of the exonarthex to the mid-11th c., proposing a 13th-c. date instead

in his review of *Nea Moni*, in the *JSAH* 42 (1982): 298–99.

343 C. Bouras, *Βυζαντινά σταυροθόλια με νευρώσεις* (Athens, 1965), 22–28. The reconstructed refectory of the Apsinthiotissa is covered with a series of groin vaults on transversal arches carried by engaged piers along the long walls.

is only one of many architectural features that may have appeared in the Byzantine architecture of Cyprus for the first time here, at Koutsovendis.

It has been argued that the addition in the course of the twelfth century of nartheces to older monastic churches on Cyprus reflects the introduction of liturgical practices that required such a space.³⁴⁴ Considering that, as we shall see shortly, the architectural scheme of our narthex was adopted in other monasteries on the island, we may wonder if Koutsovendis played a role in the spread of imported monastic usage. The addition of nartheces has also been observed elsewhere, and their more intensive use has been linked, at least partly, to the increase in communal prayers.³⁴⁵ The Koutsovendis typikon testifies most eloquently to this: specific offices took place in the narthex frequently (Par. gr. 402 f. 67r, 126r, 188r, 191r, 254v, 269v), and it was also used for the collation of wine and bread distributed to monks usually after communion (*diaklysmos*: f. 72v, 256v). The Washing of the Feet on Maundy Thursday also took place here (f. 242r).³⁴⁶ Documents from other monasteries in the empire contain similar stipulations,³⁴⁷ although at Koutsovendis, unlike elsewhere, there is no evidence that the narthex fulfilled any important funerary functions: only the *pannychis* commemorating the deceased members of the community is explicitly located here (f. 191r), perhaps because of the existence of the two chapels at its nearby cemetery, which must have been used on such occasions—although we lack relevant evidence from the typikon.³⁴⁸ The narthex of the Holy Trinity, attached to the north of the apsidal narthex, had a primarily utilitarian vocation and fulfilled far fewer liturgical functions, at least if we are to judge from the stipulations of the typikon.

At the time of the alterations to the superstructure of the narthex, the axial door of the north apse was moved farther east (along the curving wall) to allow the construction of an engaged pilaster carrying

344 A. Papageorgiou, "The Narthex of the Churches of the Middle Byzantine Period in Cyprus," in *Rayonnement Grec: Hommages à Charles Delvoye*, ed. L. Hadermann-Misguich and G. Raepsaet (Brussels, 1982), 446–48.

345 G. Nicholl, "A Contribution to the Archaeological Interpretation of Typika: The Case of the Narthex," in Mullett and Kirby, *Work and Worship*, 294, 297 (above, n. 175).

346 On the ceremony see S. Pétridès, "Le lavement des pieds le jeudi-saint dans l'église grecque," *EO* 3 (1899–1900): 321–26. Nothing is known of the decoration of the

narthex, but it would be logical to expect that the Washing of the Feet (*Nipter*) would be depicted here, as in the narthex of Kecharitomene at Constantinople where the ceremony also took place (P. Gautier, "Le typikon de Theotokos Kécharitôménè," *REB* 43 [1985]: 125–27]. At Evergetis, too, it was performed beneath a depiction of the same scene, presumably in an annex of the katholikon (ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ παραπτερύγῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας) (Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie* 1: 547 [above, n. 11]). The nartheces at Hosios Loukas, Nea Moni, and Daphni all have the *Nipter* mosaic in their northern part (Nicholl, "Contribution," 295–96 [above,

n. 345]); see also W. Tronzo, "Mimesis in Byzantium. Notes towards a History of the Function of the Image," *RES* 25 (spring, 1994): 61–76; and C. Barber, "Mimesis and Memory in the Narthex Mosaics at Nea Moni, Chios," *AH* 24.3 (2001): 323–37.

347 Nicholl, "Contribution," 287–95; and F. Bache, "La fonction funéraire du narthex dans les églises byzantines du XIIe au XIVe siècle," *HistArt* 7 (1989): 25–33.

348 There is no indication in the typikon as to the church where the various *mnemosyna* (founder George, Eumathios Philokales, John Chrysostomites, etc.) should take place.



Fig. 27 Panagia Phorbiotissa, Asinou, view from the south.
Photo by T. Papacostas

the rib of the new vault.³⁴⁹ The existence of this door is implied in the *typikon* as well, where we are told that at the end of the procession to celebrate the *enkainia* on 9 December the monks enter the “narthex of the great church” from that of the Holy Trinity (f. 59v). In the same context we hear of the “royal doors” that gave access to the *naos* (f. 60r). These remained in use in later centuries and are mentioned by travelers who noticed their marble frames.³⁵⁰ There is no textual or archaeological evidence concerning the existence of a symmetrically placed door piercing the south apse, and none is shown on Williams’s plan. Other apsidal nartheces on the island, however, such as the contemporary example at Apsinthiotissa and the somewhat later (mid-twelfth century?) domed narthex at Asinou, which on account of their architecture and date are thought to have been modeled on the Koutsovendis prototype, did have axial doors on both apses (fig. 27).³⁵¹ There is nevertheless another element to take into account, which may have affected the layout of our narthex.

³⁴⁹ Mango, “Monastery of Chrysostomos,” 68. The architectural solution selected (ribbed vaults) in conjunction with what we know of the monastery’s history would suggest that this took place before the Ottoman conquest, perhaps in the late Lusignan or Venetian period when it had become a dependency of Apsinthiotissa; the remodeling of the latter’s narthex also took place during the same period (15th c.?) (Papageorgiou, “Ἡ μονὴ Ἀψινθιωτίσσης,” 75 [above, n. 8]).

³⁵⁰ Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie*, 3: 122 (above, n. 11); Mango, “Monastery of Chrysostomos,” 65–66; Unger and Kotschy, *Die Insel Cypern*, 514 (above, n. 264).

³⁵¹ Papageorgiou, “Ἡ μονὴ Ἀψινθιωτίσσης,” 75; Wharton, *Art of Empire*, 77 (above, n. 289). On the date of the Asinou narthex, see Papacostas, “Byzantine Cyprus,” 1: 167–68; its south door was walled when the apse wall was decorated with a fresco in ca. 1200.

Visitors to the monastery during the Ottoman period mention a tomb that was probably located within the narthex. The most detailed description is provided by Franz Unger who in 1862 saw a stone slab in a tomb chamber (“Grabgemach”: surely the narthex) under a vault said to house the sepulcher of Maria Molino (“eine Gruft . . . wo sich unter einem bereits zerstückerten Stein die irdischen Reste der Maria Molino . . . befinden”), whose icon was kept in the church (presumably the katholikon).³⁵² The tomb chamber was adjacent to the latter (described as the “western chapel”) and opened into the monastery’s courtyard through a door (probably the west door of the narthex). Unger’s description seems to suggest an arcosolium-like structure. If this was indeed the configuration of the tomb, and if we consider the layout of the narthex, the most likely location for the sepulchral monument would be in the south apse: its north counterpart was, as we saw, pierced by an opening, while along the east and west walls of the narthex there was little available space. The tomb is attested by other visitors, too, although in no other account do we hear about its architectural setting.³⁵³ A funerary slab in the narthex of the church was also mentioned one century earlier, in 1767, by Mariti, who relates that it was said to belong to the elusive noble lady who had the church built. The monks always kept a light burning on the slab, next to which they believed were buried the noblewoman’s two favorite servant girls.³⁵⁴

Whatever it was that Unger and earlier travelers saw at Koutsovendis, this was destroyed when the katholikon was pulled down in the late nineteenth century. The fragment of a late medieval funerary slab that shows the right arm and lower part of an incised figure was preserved until recently at the monastery; it appears to be the only element that survived the demolition (fig. 28).³⁵⁵ Such sepulchral monuments from Lusignan and Venetian times are rather common in the medieval churches of Cyprus,³⁵⁶ and one (with a Greek inscription) is reported to have existed in the south part of the narthex at the nearby Apsinthiotissa (late fifteenth/early sixteenth

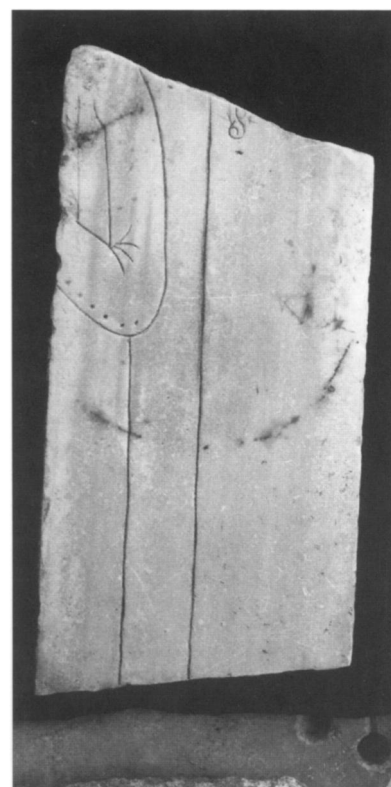


Fig. 28 Fragment of tomb slab, Koutsovendis, perhaps from the demolished katholikon. Photo by C. Mango

³⁵² Unger and Kotschy, *Die Insel Cypern*, 513–14 (above, n. 264).

³⁵³ Athanasios Sakellarios, who visited Koutsovendis in 1854, refers rather vaguely to a tomb shown at the monastery (Sakellarios, *Tà Κυπριακά*, 1: 148 [above, n. 275]).

³⁵⁴ Mango, “Monastery of Chrysostomos,” 66.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 67 (also published as fig. 186). The fragmentary slab is not included in B. Imhaus, *Lacrimae Cypriae: Les larmes de*

Chypre. Recueil des inscriptions lapidaires pour la plupart funéraires de la période franque et vénitienne de l’île de Chypre (Nicosia, 2004), although Mariti’s attestation of it appears in table I (2: 4). Two slabs published in this corpus, however (no. 158 with a Latin inscription, and no. 544 with a Greek inscription), bear certain affinities with the Koutsovendis specimen in the costume of the female figures depicted (rows of buttons along sleeves); they appear to date from the 14th and the early 15th c.,

which may suggest a similar date for the Koutsovendis slab (*ibid.*, 1: 83, 283; 2: 105, 229, 266 for sketches of the figures and dress; 2: 93, 110, 128 for brief discussions of the costume).

³⁵⁶ Tankerville Chamberlayne, *Lacrimae Nicossenses* (above, n. 327); F. A. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs: A Study of Engraved Stone Memorials in Latin Christendom, c.1100 to c.1700* (London, 1976), 2: 41–45, 69–80; and Imhaus, *Lacrimae Cypriae*.

century?).³⁵⁷ In the middle Byzantine period, this part of the narthex was often reserved for the burial of founders and patrons,³⁵⁸ and on Cyprus tombs in a similar location are known from earlier centuries as well.³⁵⁹ Assuming that the late medieval sepulchral monument at Koutsovendis also stood in the same position, could it not have replaced an earlier burial at the same spot, perhaps dating from the early days of the monastery? We did observe above that the typikon assigns only a limited funerary role to the narthex, however, and fails to mention the location where the commemoration of the founder George should take place. What is more, there are other, perhaps more likely locations in the monastery for George's tomb, namely the contiguous cemetery chapels outside the monastic compound, and perhaps the small subsidiary chapel to the south of the katholikon (fig. 21, no. 5). It remains, therefore, rather doubtful that the south apse would have housed a founder's tomb, in which case it may indeed have been pierced by a door; this would have been walled up when the late medieval tomb was laid out.

The apsidal configuration of the narthex, known from Williams's plan and from the scanty remains of the north apse, merits particular attention, for it is rather unusual. That is not to say that nartheces with apses are rare in the middle Byzantine period. On the contrary, examples are indeed known at the Theotokos of Lips, Myrelaion, Vefa Kilise Camii, and Eski Imaret Camii (Constantinople), at Evcik (Thrace), and at Hosios Loukas, Daphni, and Christianou (in Greece), among others.³⁶⁰ In all these cases, though, the apses are shallow, relatively small, and formed like large niches, since they are usually contained within the thickness of the wall. In our example, however, they project strongly and are much larger in relation to the main body of the narthex. This particular type is much rarer. On Cyprus itself, apart from Koutsovendis and the cases mentioned above (Asinou: fig. 27; Apsinthiotissa: fig. 29), another four such nartheces are attested,

357 Enlart, *L'art gothique*, 1: 245–46, 2: 484 (above, n. 268), and Imhaus, *Lacrimae Cypriae*, 1: 357–58 no. 694, and 2: 112 for the date; see also Jeffery, *Historic Monuments*, 276 (above, n. 284); A. K. Indianos, “Κυπριακά μεσαιωνικά μνημεία—Επιγραφές I,” *Κυπρ. Σπ.* 4 (1940, publ. 1942): 31–32; and Mango, “Monastery of Chrysostomos,” 67. In Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, 434 (above, n. 284), it is reported that the broken funerary slab was to be seen in “the apse of the north aisle.”

358 The 11th-c. founders of Vatopedi and of the Theotokos Eleousa at Veljusa were most probably buried in such tombs (T. N.

Pazaras, “Ο τάφος των κτητόρων στο καθολικό της μονής Βατοπεδίου,” *Βυζαντινά* 17 [1994]: 407–40, and J. Bompaire, J. Lefort, V. Kravari, and C. Giros, *Actes de Vatopédi* [Paris, 2001], 42–43 [by B. Pitarakis]; A. Bandy, “Eleousa: Rule of Manuel, Bishop of Stroumitza, for the Monastery of the Mother of God Eleousa,” in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents* [above, n. 18]). Burials (of unknown date) were reported in the past in the apsidal narthex of Asinou and near the south wall of the narthex at Saint Hilarion (J. C. Peristianes, *Μονογραφία τῆς ἀρχαίας πόλεως καὶ ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀσίνου* [νῦν

Ἀσίνου] [Nicosia, 1922], 8, and *Annual Report to the Director of Antiquities, Cyprus* [1963]: 11).

359 M. Rautman, *A Cypriot Village of Late Antiquity: Kalavassos-Kopetra in the Vasilikos Valley* (Portsmouth, Rhode Island, 2003), 68.

360 Bouras, *Nea Moni*, 151–52. On the church with (11th-c.?) apsidal narthex identified at Evcik on the Black Sea coast of Thrace, see J. Crow and A. Ricci, “Anastasian Wall Project 1995,” *BBBS* 22 (1996): 33.



Fig. 29 Panagia Apsinthiotissa, view from the north. Photo by T. Papacostas

opposite page

Fig. 30 Plans of the churches of Margi and Panagia Apsinthiotissa. After Jeffery, "Byzantine Churches," figs. 3, 4

Fig. 31 Plan and section of Christ Antiphonetes. After Soteriou, *Bυζαντινὰ Μνημεῖα*, fig. 14

Fig. 32 Plan of the church at the castle of Saint Hilarion. After Papageorgiou, "The Narthex," fig. a

although none is preserved above ground or securely dated.³⁶¹ Outside the island only a handful are known: at Nea Moni the outer narthex, originally an open porch, was provided with such projecting apses. In the area of Latmos, the twelfth-century church of a ruined monastery on a small island in Lake Herakleia (Menet Ada in Bafa Gölü) had a domed apsidal narthex similar in plan to the one at Koutsovendis.³⁶²

The typikon stipulations do not contain any clear indication as to the use of these apses. A particular development in the architecture of the Athonite katholika, however, may be instructive: in around 1000 Athanasios of Athos had the outer walls of the north and south cross arms in the katholikon of the Great Lavra replaced by two large apses. Neighboring monasteries soon followed suit, and churches built subsequently on the Holy Mountain adopted this scheme.³⁶³ Obviously the latter was so popular, to a large extent because of the prestigious origin of the model, but such apses were also an ideal place for monks to stand and sing during the services. Similar considerations may have prompted the elaboration of the narthex with large apses,

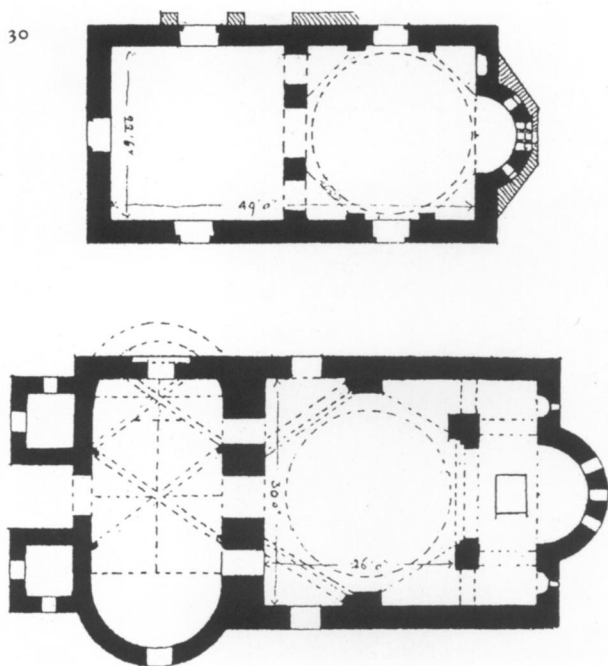
³⁶¹ They are nevertheless thought to date from the 12th c.: Saint George at Aphendrika in the Karpas peninsula (only foundations visible), Saint Paul at Gomaristra near Lapithos (in ruins), the churches of Lagoudera (?) and of the monastery of Hiereon (Ayia Moni in the mountains of Paphos), both known from partial excavation; see Papageorgiou, "The Narthex," 442–44 (above, n. 344), and A. Nicolaidès,

"L'église de la Panagia Arakiotissa à Lagoudéra, Chypre: Étude iconographique des fresques de 1192," *DOP* 50 (1996): 11.

³⁶² Bouras, *Nea Moni*, 112–14 (above, n. 342); for the dates of the exonarthex, see n. 342; U. Peschlow, "Latmos," *Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst*, ed. K. Wessel (Stuttgart, 1993), 5: 662–66.

³⁶³ P. Mylonas, "Le plan initial du katholikon de la Grande-Lavra au Mont-

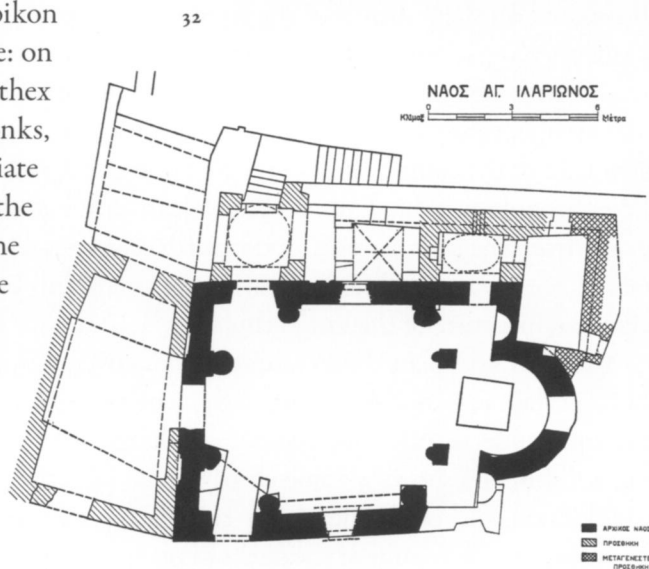
Athos et la genèse du type du katholikon athonite," *CahArch* 32 (1984): 96–100; see also R. Ousterhout, "Beyond Hagia Sophia: Originality in Byzantine Architecture," in *Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art and Music a Collection of Essays*, ed. A. R. Littlewood (Oxford, 1995), 172–74; and Ousterhout, *Master Builders*, 92 (above, n. 312).



in addition to the need for more space in view of its increasingly frequent liturgical uses. Our typikon provides yet another modest albeit suggestive clue: on Easter Saturday the officiating priest enters the narthex from the naos censuring the hegumen and the monks, singing in two groups (f. 254v). The most appropriate place for the latter to stand would obviously be the two apses. Indeed, the choirs, *χωροί* [*sic*], “to the left and right,” mentioned in connection with the veneration of the True Cross relic on the third Sunday of Lent (f. 222r), may denote these very apses (as in the Rule of Athanasios for Lavra)³⁶⁴ rather than the groups of cantors.

The Naos and Bema

The main body of the katholikon, referred to as “the great church” in the typikon (ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ναῷ / τοῦ μεγάλου ναοῦ: f. 58v, 59v), is the only securely dated part of the church complex. Its layout and architecture can be partly reconstructed with a certain degree of confidence thanks to the available evidence. On the one hand, we have the descriptions and drawings by travelers of the Ottoman period and the plan made by Williams and, on the other, parts of the lost building incorporated into the church of 1891. There is also a small group of related monuments that includes the churches of Margi, Apsinthiotissa, Antiphonetes, and Saint Hilarion (figs. 30, 31, and 32). They share with our katholikon its main feature, namely



³⁶⁴ P. Mylonas, “Ο ἀρχιτεκτονικὸς ὅρος χορὸς πρὶν καὶ μετὰ τὸν Ὅσιον Ἀθανάσιον τὸν Ἀθωνίτη,” in *Τέταρτο συμπόσιο βυζαντινῆς καὶ μεταβυζαντινῆς ἀρχαιολογίας καὶ τέχνης* (Athens, 1984), 39–40.



Fig. 33 Christ Antiphonetes, view from the southwest. Photo by T. Papacostas

the large dome on eight supports (six at the Apsinthiotissa), and are all situated on the foothills of the Kyrenia mountains, mostly in the vicinity of Koutsovendis (fig. 2). Their concentration in this particular area is clearly not an accident of survival; combined with the fact that their architectural type is so uncommon, it leaves no doubt that they form part of the same group and were built during the same period. Their chronology is, however, far from clear, although they all appear to date from the later eleventh and twelfth centuries. Despite the bad state of preservation of most of them, they may still shed some light on the architecture of the lost *katholikon*.³⁶⁵

The Williams plan shows a square naos covered by a large dome. The latter appears on all of our early depictions of the monastery, although none reveals much about its design. Otto von Richter's original drawing shows a dome clearly much larger than that of the *parekklesion*, although they both rise to approximately the same height (fig. 7). The drum of the *katholikon* appears to bear an arcade with windows alternating with blind arches³⁶⁶—unless of course the latter represent windows that were subsequently walled in. That this may indeed be the case is indicated by an earlier drawing, that of Barskii, which presents a view of the drum from the opposite

³⁶⁵ For a discussion of these monuments, see Papacostas, "Byzantine Cyprus," 1: 153–59 (above, n. 4).

³⁶⁶ Dome drums with windows alternating with such blind arches or niches, although rare in middle Byzantine Cyprus,

do occur in a small number of churches (Saint Nicholas of the Roof, western dome of Saints Barnabas and Hilarion at Peristerona, narthex dome at Panagia Kanakaria) (Papacostas, "Byzantine Cyprus," 1: 182–83).

direction (southeast), pierced by several windows of which five are shown (fig. 6),³⁶⁷ suggesting that there probably were sixteen altogether, just as the dome of the Holy Trinity next door has twelve windows of which four are visible on the same sketch. Considering the circumstances and his background, Barskii may be described as a fairly reliable observer of architecture. A word of caution is nevertheless necessary, for he sometimes proves to be less accurate when it comes to details. Thus his sketches of the monasteries of Saint Mamas at Morphou and of the Enkleistra imply that both katholika had domes with eight windows (three are visible in each case);³⁶⁸ the two buildings, which survive in a good state, are contemporaneous (ca. 1500) and indeed very similar, but they also differ in certain respects, including the number of dome windows: Saint Mamas has eight whereas the Enkleistra has only four. It is therefore obvious that the testimony of Barskii's sketches cannot always be fully trusted. There is nevertheless little doubt that the relatively large dome at Koutsovendis, indeed one of the largest known from middle Byzantine Cyprus (diameter: ca. 6.50 m), would have had a dozen or more lights. Such large numbers of dome windows are known from only a few other middle Byzantine monuments on Cyprus.³⁶⁹ Among the churches related to our katholikon, only Christ Antiphonetes, almost certainly the latest member of the group (late twelfth century?), has preserved its original dome, built in ashlar with twelve windows under recessed arches (fig. 33).

The dome at Koutsovendis was presumably built in ashlar, too, and was carried on eight supports. These engaged semicircular piers are mentioned by both Van Bruyn (1683) and Otto von Richter (1816), although neither tells us anything about their masonry.³⁷⁰ At Antiphonetes the almost-cylindrical supports are built, like the entire structure, in cut stone, too. The roofless shell at Saint Hilarion in the homonymous castle, which probably dates from the same period as



Fig. 34 Saint Hilarion, engaged piers on the west wall. Photo by T. Papacostas

³⁶⁷ Also published in Grishin, *A Pilgrim's Account*, plate 8 (above, n. 62), and Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," fig. 3.

³⁶⁸ Grishin, *A Pilgrim's Account*, plate 4, 10.

³⁶⁹ By comparison the original dome at Nea Moni on Chios would have been slightly

larger at ca. 7 m while at Hosios Loukas it is even larger (ca. 8 m); the two dome drums at Saint Barnabas outside Salamis/Constantia are pierced by fourteen windows each, while those of Trikomo and Lagoudera have twelve (Papacostas, "Byzantine Cyprus," 1: 181–83).

³⁷⁰ Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn, 368 (above, n. 252); Richter, *Wallfahrten im Morgenlande*, 318 (above, n. 275).

Koutsovendis,³⁷¹ employs supports of a similar type, although on a much more irregular plan (fig. 32). But here these engaged piers (best seen at the western part of the ruinous church: fig. 34) are built in alternating ashlar and brick courses, the latter set in thick mortar beds that give the appearance of recessed brick masonry.³⁷² According to Barskii the katholikon at Koutsovendis was also built “of huge natural stones which have been cleverly hewn and are set amongst large strong bricks.”³⁷³ This may suggest a type of masonry similar to that of Saint Hilarion, although the portion of the north wall of the katholikon, which survived because it is shared with the parekklesion, is made entirely of good-quality ashlar in isodomic courses (fig. 35). Similarly, the lower part of the original apse wall, incorporated within the church of 1891, is also built in ashlar (the rubble masonry above is probably due to subsequent repairs: fig. 25); the recessed arches of the three windows in the main apse, however, as well as the spandrels between them, are made of brick.³⁷⁴ It is therefore not inconceivable that, as in Saint Hilarion and other contemporary monuments on the island, the engaged piers at Koutsovendis were also built in alternating brick and stone courses.

The quality of the stone masonry in the little that survives of the katholikon walls is exceptional. Although monuments from this period employing cut stone do survive on the island, in particular in the Karpas peninsula (most notably Saint Maure and Saint Philon near Rizokarpaso: fig. 36), the vast majority of contemporary



Fig. 35 Holy Trinity, Koutsovendis, the south wall incorporating part of the north wall of the katholikon. Photo by C. Mango

371 Ćurčić in *Middle Byzantine Architecture*, 16–17 (above, n. 301), dates this church to the late 10th c. and therefore before the squinch churches of southern Greece and the Aegean. If this dating is based on that of the fragments of fresco decoration (C. Chotzakoglou, “Christian Mosaics and Mural Paintings in the Occupied Areas of Cyprus: Preliminary Report on Their Condition,” in

Chrysostomides and Dendrinou, *Sweet Land*, 105 [above, n. 221]), it is possible that they may belong to an earlier church, of a different architectural type (cross-in-square?), whose construction preceded that of the castle.

372 Of course the piers would have almost certainly been plastered over, and perhaps painted too, concealing the masonry.

373 Grishin, *A Pilgrim's Account*, 30.

374 Otto von Richter's statement that the church was built of brick is probably an exaggeration prompted by its more extensive use in the masonry of the adjacent parekklesion (Richter, *Wallfahrten im Morgenlande*, 317).



Fig. 36 Saint Philon, view from the east.
Photo by T. Papacostas

structures were built of rubble. The irregular masonry was more often than hitherto thought concealed behind a layer of painted plaster, sometimes imitating ashlar courses.³⁷⁵ Cyprus does not lack good-quality stone, not least in the Kyrenia mountains, but this does not seem to have been fully exploited until the Lusignan period, first in the often grand and elaborate Gothic structures put up by the new ruling elite, and subsequently throughout the island's architectural output. Thus the stone masonry of the *katholikon*, although not totally foreign to the local tradition, is nevertheless remarkable.

The use of brick in the Byzantine architecture of Cyprus is equally infrequent. We have already seen that it may reflect Constantinopolitan practices. The channels through which it reached the island, however, may not have been as direct as one might suppose. The closest parallel to our apse windows is to be found at Trikomo, in the plain to the east of Koutsovendis, where the early-twelfth-century church of the Panagia, built in somewhat irregular stone blocks, also employs brick in the recessed arches and spandrels of its three apse windows.³⁷⁶ A pattern in the use of brick comparable to that encountered on Cyprus has been observed in the Byzantine architecture of Palestine too, which,

³⁷⁵ As S. Ćurčić has demonstrated in *Middle Byzantine Architecture*, 19–31.

³⁷⁶ It is noteworthy that the frescoes of Trikomo have been linked to those of the *parekklesion* at Koutsovendis, although their dating remains uncertain (D. Winfield, "Hagios Chrysostomos, Trikomo, Asinou.

Byzantine Painters at Work," in *Πρακτικά του Πρώτου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου* [Nicosia, 1972], 2: 285–91, and A. Weyl Carr and L. J. Morrocco, *A Byzantine Masterpiece Recovered: The Thirteenth-Century Murals of Lysi, Cyprus* [Austin, 1991], 55).

like that of Cyprus, uses primarily stone; yet in the eleventh-century portions of the Holy Sepulcher brick is frequently employed, and the gallery windows of the north façade of the Anastasis rotunda with their brick arches are indeed reminiscent of those at Koutsovendis and Trikomo.³⁷⁷ Another even rarer element in the latter monument, which finds an exact parallel in Jerusalem, is the banded voussoir in arches alternating bricks with stone blocks. At Trikomo it occurs in the two recessed blind arches of the south façade (fig. 37; the north façade was altered when the original church was enlarged), while at the Holy Sepulcher it is found in two of the eleventh-century chapels.³⁷⁸ Although this is not uncommon in Byzantine architecture elsewhere, it is exceptional in both Cyprus and the Holy Land and raises the possibility that its appearance in both areas during roughly the same period may not be coincidental. In Jerusalem itself, both this particular feature and the use of brick in general have been explained by the (undocumented) arrival of a Constantinopolitan workshop despatched by Constantine IX Monomachos in the 1040s to restore the shrine after the ravages of Caliph al-Hakim's anti-Christian zeal in the early part of the century. The impact of this external input on the architecture of Palestine in the immediate aftermath of the Holy Sepulcher's restoration (and before the arrival of the Crusaders) is difficult to gauge; the surviving monuments are few, ill dated, and were often extensively altered.³⁷⁹ This is important because, as we saw, on Cyprus, too, the appearance of brick toward the end of the century has been linked to the Constantinopolitan milieu.

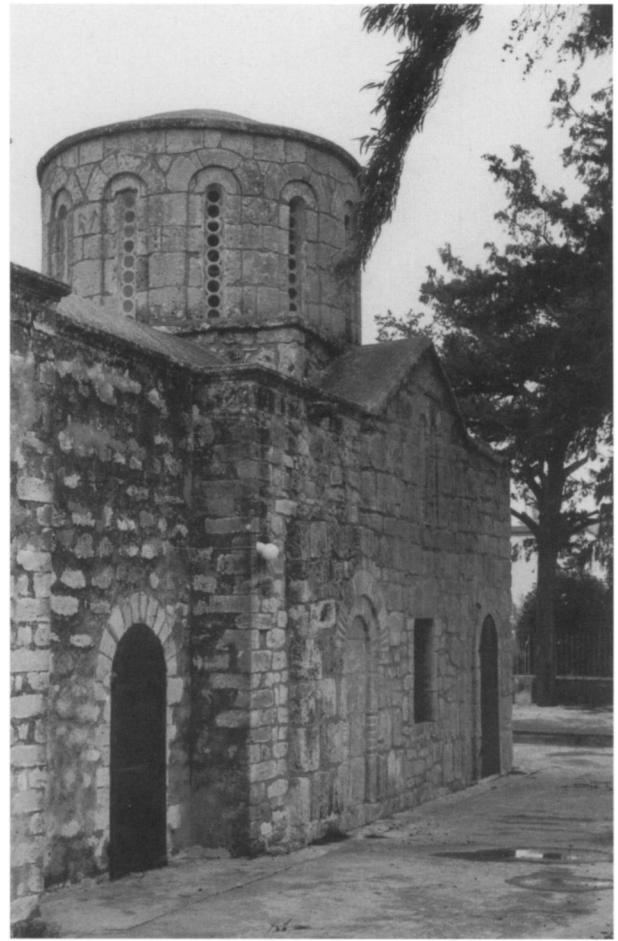


Fig. 37 Panagia of Trikomo, view from the southwest. Photo by T. Papacostas

³⁷⁷ The single-aisled domed church of the Panagia Blachernon near Athienou, in the island's central plain, is known from a drawing made in 1862 by Edmond Duthoit that shows windows with brick arches reminiscent of those at Koutsovendis; this interesting drawing was exhibited in London (Hellenic Centre, 1999) but was not included in the publication of Duthoit's work (R. Severis and L. Bonato, *Along the Most Beautiful Path in the World: Edmond Duthoit and Cyprus* [Nicosia, 1999]). It is probably to be identified with the "Panayia

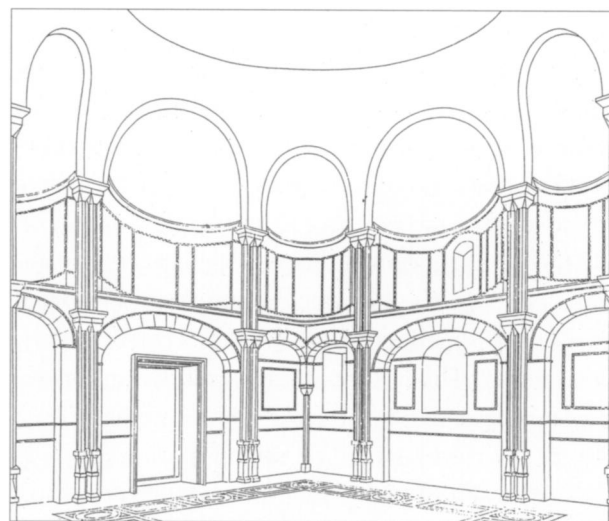
tou Lakhera/Lachiera/Lachernou" mentioned briefly in Jeffery, *Description*, 182 (above, n. 284), and N. Kyriazes, *Τὰ μοναστήρια ἐν Κύπρῳ* (Larnaca, 1950), 126–27.

³⁷⁸ R. Ousterhout, "Rebuilding the Temple: Constantine Monomachos and the Holy Sepulchre," *JSAH* 48 (1989): 73–74; the presence of a Constantinopolitan workshop is also attested by the use of the recessed brick technique and by several decorative details. An earlier dating for the beginning of the reconstruction right after

the destruction of the shrine has been proposed by Martin Biddle, who argues that its main phase took place under Michael IV (1034–41) (M. Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* [Stroud, 1999], 74–88).

³⁷⁹ Ousterhout, "Rebuilding the Temple," 72–74; D. Pringle, "Church-Building in Palestine Before the Crusades," in *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. J. Folda (Oxford, 1982), 5–46.

The chronological proximity of this parallel development in the two neighboring areas might suggest a direct link between their building practices; but of course it may also be the mere reflection of the same experience in areas with similar architectural traditions. What is more, the paucity of evidence from Palestine makes any argument in favor of the first option difficult to sustain. That is to say, although it is not difficult to imagine the transfer of practices to Cyprus from the mainland in this period, the necessary corroborating material is lacking. We shall nevertheless see below that other elements in the architecture of our katholikon also point in the same direction.



The transitional zone under the dome base is the defining characteristic of the architectural type of the katholikon and the related monuments mentioned above. It is also the most problematic to reconstruct. The only evidence that may be used for this purpose is provided by other buildings, both within and outside Cyprus. Constantinople has unavoidably been mentioned in this context,³⁸⁰ based not on any secure evidence but solely on the capital's perceived role as the fountain of most if not all developments in Byzantine art and architecture of this period. Byzantine architecture employs two types of squinch that essentially perform the same structural role, namely the transfer of the charges from the circular dome base to its eight supports. The large and architecturally complex squinch churches of southern Greece (Hosios Loukas, Daphni, Christianou, Panagia Lykodemou, and Saint Sophia of Monemvasia) use conical (trumpet) squinches, which are geometrically well defined, while the smaller type exemplified by Nea Moni on Chios uses apsidal squinches. The latter monument has often been cited in relation to the Cypriot squinch churches.³⁸¹ Although the principle followed is the same (dome over square naos carried on eight supports and devoid of buttressing annex structures), the comparison is nevertheless misguided.³⁸²

The undeniable affinities of their plans conceal the fundamental differences in their superstructure, and in particular in the transitional

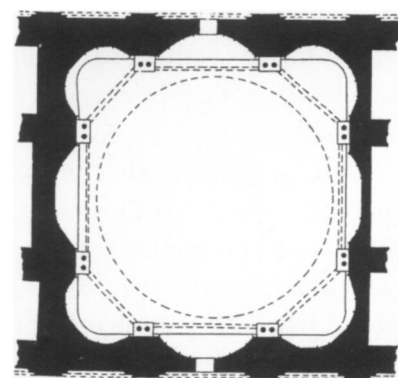


Fig. 38 Nea Moni (Chios), reconstruction of the naos interior. After Orlandos, *Monuments byzantins*, vol. 2, plate 14.

Fig. 39 Nea Moni (Chios), plan of the naos at squinch level. After Orlandos, *Monuments byzantins*, vol. 2, plate 15

380 Megaw, "Byzantine Architecture," 82; P. L. Vocotopoulos, "The Role of Constantinopolitan Architecture During the Middle and Late Byzantine Period," *JÖB* 31 (1981): 566–67; Ćurčić, *Middle Byzantine Architecture*, 16–17.

381 E. Stikas, *L'église byzantine de Christianou en Triphyllie (Péloponèse) et les*

autres édifices de même type (Paris, 1951), 39; P. Mylonas, *Μονή του Ὁσίου Λουκά τοῦ Στεριώτη. Ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ τῶν τεσσάρων ναῶν* (Athens, 2005); Megaw, "Byzantine Architecture," 83; Wharton, *Art of Empire*, 73 (above, n. 289).

382 As C. Bouras has observed, most pertinently, in *Nea Moni*, 137 (above, n. 342).

zone. The internal articulation of the naos at Nea Moni is unique: the square base is abruptly interrupted by a ledge on which the almost perfectly centralized octaconch created by the apsidal squinches in the corners and the four wide niches in the axes of the square sits rather uncomfortably (figs. 38 and 39). No such interruption of the vertical plane of the naos walls exists in the Cypriot monuments; the springing of the squinches is not marked by a cornice or any other device. This is most clearly seen at Antiphonetes, the best-preserved specimen on the island (fig. 31), but also at the ruinous shell of Saint Hilarion (fig. 40): the niches of Nea Moni and the octaconch they form together with the apsidal squinches are nowhere to be seen; instead, on the axes there are blind arches, apart from the east, where the arch opens into the barrel vault of the bema (as in the later monuments of Chios).

It is very likely that in our katholikon too the same scheme was followed, with an uninterrupted wall plane that on the axes of the square continued into the blind arches (the eastern arch would have opened into the bema vault) and in the corners merged into the squinches. The careful construction of the katholikon and the regularity of its plan, unique among the Cypriot monuments,³⁸³ raise the possibility that its squinches may have been of the conical/trumpet type. It should, however, be noted that those employed in the surviving churches of Cyprus are of a hybrid variety, halfway between the two types prevalent in middle Byzantine architecture, and in tune with the often-irregular layout and less than rigorous construction of these monuments. They are all ill-defined, irregularly curving segments of vaulting (fig. 41).³⁸⁴ Whether this reflects their presumed model, our katholikon, must remain an open question.



Fig. 40 Saint Hilarion, interior looking west.
Photo by T. Papacostas

383 The church at Margi, in the western foothills of the Kyrenia Mountains (fig. 30), may have also had a regular layout, although this can no longer be ascertained since nothing remains of the structure, known through the early-20th-c. plan published by Jeffery in "Byzantine Churches," 117 (above, n. 287); further bibliography in Papacostas, "Byzantine Cyprus," 2: 57 (above, n. 4).

384 At Antiphonetes and Saint Hilarion the west squinches are still standing, whereas at the Apsinthiotissa only the northwest squinch survived and was used as a model for the reconstruction of the superstructure in the 1960s. Squinches are to be found in two more middle Byzantine monuments on the island, namely the single-aisled domed church of Saint Photios

in the Karpas peninsula and the small burial chamber attached to the north of the Panagia Diakainousa at Prasteio Avdimou in the region of Limassol (four tangent squinches): Papacostas, "Byzantine Cyprus," 2: 27, 69.



Fig. 41 Saint Hilarion, the northwest squinch. Photo by T. Papacostas

The position of the supports on Williams's plan suggests that the arches spanning the corners and forming the outer outline of the squinches (towards the center of the naos) were narrower than the four arches on the axes of the square. They would have been either semicircular³⁸⁵ and therefore lower (as at Panagia Krina and at the Holy Apostles of Pyrgi on Chios: figs. 42, 43) or elliptical and reaching almost the same height at their apex as the other arches (e.g., Nea Moni).³⁸⁶ The Koutsovendis scheme may have adhered to the former model, if we are to judge by the local monuments. At Antiphonetes the rounded piers on a very irregular octagonal layout carry slightly pointed arches of variable width and height; but there the eastern part of the octagon disposes of the squinches altogether, since the eastern supports are almost aligned and therefore do not require an additional device to fill in the nonexistent corner gap (as a result, the dome drum is anything but circular); the corner arches are blind, rise to the same height as the arches on the square's axes, and are simply

³⁸⁵ Pointed arches appear slightly later in the Byzantine architecture of Cyprus: see above, p. 100, and below, pp. 138–39.

³⁸⁶ Plans and sections of these and other related monuments on Chios were published by A. K. Orlandos in *Monuments byzantins*

de Chios, vol. 2, *Planches* (Athens, 1930); further bibliography in R. Ousterhout, "Originality in Byzantine Architecture: The Case of Nea Moni," *JSAH* 51 (1992): 48–60. For a classification of the variants, see C. Bouras, "Twelfth and Thirteenth Century

Variations of the Single Domed Octagon Plan," *Δελτ. Χριστ. Αρχ. Έτ.* 9 (1977–79): 21–32.

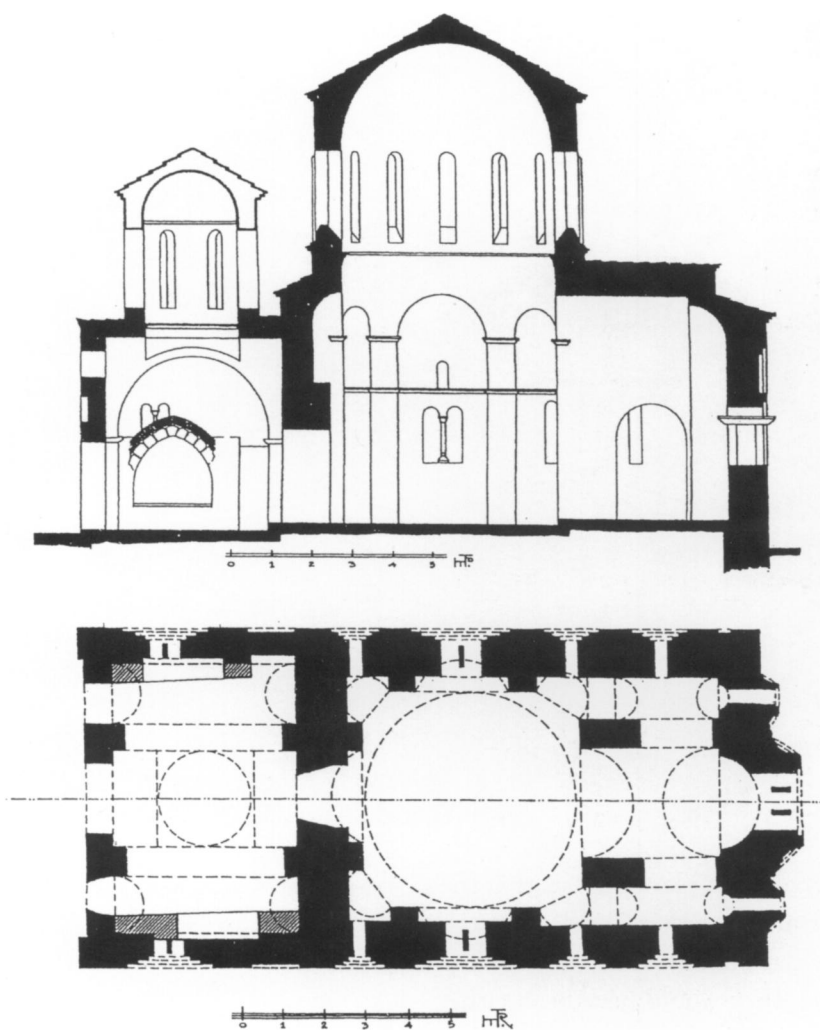


Fig. 42 Panagia Krina (Chios), section and plan. After Orlandos, *Monuments byzantins*, vol. 3, plates 32 and 33

abutted by the vaults of the sanctuary's lateral bays, which communicate with the octagon through lower arched openings. This is a variant of an unsatisfactory solution adopted earlier at Saint Hilarion, where the octagon is also flattened in its eastern part and the low arches flanking the opening into the bema vault replace the squinches as the device through which the transfer of the charges is effected (fig. 44). At Apsinthiotissa, on the other hand, the only other member of the group where sufficient evidence has survived (despite the reconstruction of the 1960s) and which appears to date from the same period as Koutsovendis, the number of supports was reduced to six, placed at regular intervals and carrying (brick?) arches.

The origin of the squinch church in Byzantium has been much debated.³⁸⁷ In the architecture of Hosios Loukas, the earliest surviving specimen of the southern Greek group, there is nothing experimental; it is the expression of an accomplished, elegant, and successful scheme that uses the trumpet squinch most effectively and is nothing short

³⁸⁷ Stikas, *L'église byzantine de Christianou*, 35–47 (above, n. 381); Mango, "Les monuments de l'architecture du XI^e siècle," 359–65 (above, n. 10); for a review of the main arguments, see Bouras, *Nea Moni*, 133–39 (above, n. 342).

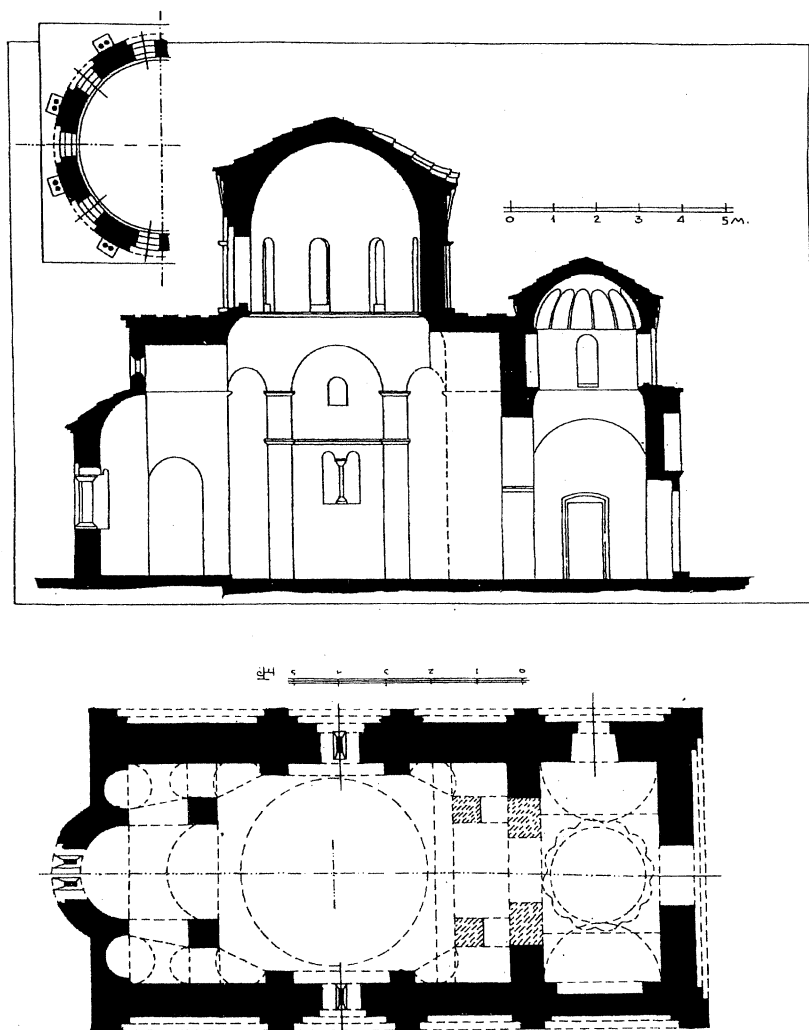


Fig. 43 Holy Apostles, Pyrgi (Chios), section and plan. After Orlandos, *Monuments byzantins*, vol. 2, plates 39 and 40

of baffling, as it appears without any known precedent in Byzantine architecture. Nea Moni, on the other hand, bears all the hallmarks of a developmental process, although again the initial impulse remains uncertain. Robert Ousterhout has convincingly argued that it may be at least partly derived from contemporary Islamic architecture.³⁸⁸ The progeny of Nea Moni on Chios (Saint George Sykousis, Panagia Krina, Holy Apostles at Pyrgi: figs. 42, 43) takes its innovative but imperfect scheme and develops it further, forsaking the strict centralization in favor of alterations that improve the transition from square base to squinch zone and enhance the relationship of the naos with the sanctuary by opening up the latter into the former. It is this later group that provides the closest parallel to the scheme adopted in our Cypriot monuments, although again the significance of this is far from clear. It should also be noted that the monument of Chios that comes closest to the Cypriot examples is also dated to a much later period: the Holy Apostles at Pyrgi employs blind arches rather

³⁸⁸ Ousterhout, "Originality," 57–59.

than niches on the axes of the naos and was perhaps built as late as the fourteenth century (fig. 43).³⁸⁹ But if we look for related structures that are closer to Koutsovendis both chronologically and geographically, then Palestine once more comes to the fore and provides the most intriguing clues.

The eleventh-century reconstruction of the Holy Sepulcher included several annex spaces, including two domed chapels, both using squinches to effect the transition from a simple square base to the dome. It should be stressed, however, that in both cases the transition results in an octagonal drum, which has then to be adjusted to the hemisphere of the cupola; this is never the case in the known examples of squinch domes from Byzantium, where the squinches are inserted within a curving pendentive-like zone ending in a circular rim for the drum to sit upon. At the Holy Sepulcher, in the elevated chapel above Calvary where recessed brick is used in the masonry, the squinches are of the conical (trumpet) variety, as in the squinch churches of southern Greece. According to Robert Ousterhout, these elements betray the Constantinopolitan origin of the masons. What is most odd here, however, seen from a Byzantine perspective, is the octagonal drum. This is not the case in the other domed chapel, in the Baptistry wing, whose architecture betrays a strong Islamic affiliation: no brick is used, the squinches are of the apsidal variety (as at Nea Moni) with pointed arches sitting on a ledge, and the drum, as in most Islamic examples, is of course polygonal (the dome no longer survives).³⁹⁰ Although neither chapel provides an exact parallel to our *katholikon*, both show the use of the two types of squinch in the Christian architecture of eleventh-century Palestine, from where it may have been imported to Cyprus.

This suggestion is strengthened further by another new element in the island's architecture whose introduction in all likelihood followed the same route: the pointed arch, although attested on Cyprus since late antiquity (aqueducts near Salamis/Constantia and Kourion), appears again with increasing frequency only in the course of the Comnenian period (Lagoudera, Asinou narthex), before the end of the twelfth century. In the Levant the same form of arch was widely used in the centuries immediately following the Arab conquest: in Palestine it appears from the eighth century onward; it is



Fig. 44 Saint Hilarion, the northeast arch.
Photo by T. Papacostas

³⁸⁹ Bouras, "Variations of the Single Domed Octagon Plan," 26.

³⁹⁰ Ousterhout, "Rebuilding the Temple," 75 (above, n. 378).

then employed in Christian monuments of the eleventh century and later, of course, in Crusader architecture. One may therefore argue that this particular element of architectural vocabulary was perhaps reintroduced to Cyprus from the Holy Land, too, in the course of the middle Byzantine period.³⁹¹

The form of the eight piers that carry the dome of the katholikon and resemble engaged columns is rare in this type of structure.³⁹² It is not used in any of the surviving squinch churches of the middle Byzantine period outside Cyprus, although it renders the structure more easily legible, for the main supports are given extraordinary prominence and thus emphasize the structural skeleton with its octagonal layout. The latter is much less obvious in monuments such as Hosios Loukas and its progeny in southern Greece, where the supports are embedded within the vertical surface of the naos walls. The churches of Chios fare somewhat better in this respect, for their supports take the form of rectangular engaged piers (originally marked with twin colonnettes at Nea Moni). Only in Georgian architecture, however, is there something comparable to the rounded piers of the Cypriot monuments, although no typological or any other direct link can of course be postulated: in structures of the tenth and eleventh centuries with centralized plans and radiating corner niches, apses, or larger annex spaces, such as Kvetera, Nikorcminda, Kackhi, and Kumurdo,³⁹³ the arches under the dome are carried on engaged columns which create an effect similar to that of the semi-circular piers in our katholikon. The distant echo of an element encountered in Georgian architecture in a monument on Cyprus is perhaps accidental; but the possibility that it may represent some indirect Caucasian input or the reflection of Caucasian influence cannot be altogether excluded: we have seen that a Georgian monastic community is attested on Cyprus in this period (although there is nothing specifically Georgian about the architecture of its now ruinous small triconch church at Yialia),

³⁹¹ These issues are discussed in greater detail in Papacostas, "Byzantine Cyprus," 1: 167–75. Slightly pointed arches were used in Georgian architecture too during the medieval period.

³⁹² Semicircular engaged piers are also used in a few single-aisled domed churches on Cyprus (Panagia at Trikomo, Panagia Tochniou near Mandres in the Famagusta district, Panagia Lambas near Mitsero in the northeast Troodos foothills, and, most interesting, in a recently excavated urban monument, namely one of the churches on the site of the Old Town Hall in the heart of Nicosia, on which see Y. Violaris,

"Excavations at the site of *Palaion demarcheion*, Lefkosia," *CCEC* 34 [2004]: 69–80, without reference, however, to the engaged piers, and P. Flourentzos, "Excavations at *Palaion Demarcheion*, Lefkosia," in *Annual Report of the Director of Antiquities* 2004 [Nicosia, 2006]: 84–86).

³⁹³ Plans in T. Velmans and A. Alpagó Novello, *Miroir de l'invisible: Peintures murales et architecture de la Géorgie (VIe–XVe s.)* (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1996), 252–56, and A. Alpagó Novello and V. Beridze et al., *Art and Architecture in Medieval Georgia* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980), 303.

and there was also a considerable Georgian presence both in Palestine³⁹⁴ and, more significantly, in northern Syria.

The architectural traditions of the Caucasus are much more clearly reflected in yet another, intriguing element at Koutsovendis: a finely molded cross carved on twelve ashlar blocks adorns today the north façade of the parekklesion (fig. 45). Its original function is unclear; it may have been a purely decorative façade element. But if its now-blocked central part was originally pierced, then it may have served as a cruciform window—not in its current position, though, high up on the northern gable, where it would have opened in part into the thickness of the arch under the dome.³⁹⁵ The masonry of this wall of the parekklesion is made mostly of rubble, a further indication that it was altered and that the cross probably originated in some other building, in all likelihood the katholikon. One possibility is that it may have originally decorated the latter's north façade, from where it was moved to its current position when the parekklesion was built against that façade. It may have also been placed in its current position much later, either after the demolition of the south church or during some earlier restoration campaign. As we have already seen, other elements from the katholikon were also salvaged and used in the parekklesion. Cruciform windows with or without moldings are known from a few other monuments on Cyprus, as well as from neighboring regions (west gable of the church at Saint Catherine's, Sinai), but these are quite different from the molded cross of the parekklesion.³⁹⁶ Molded crosses, some extremely elaborate in their sculptural decoration, are of course common in Armenian and

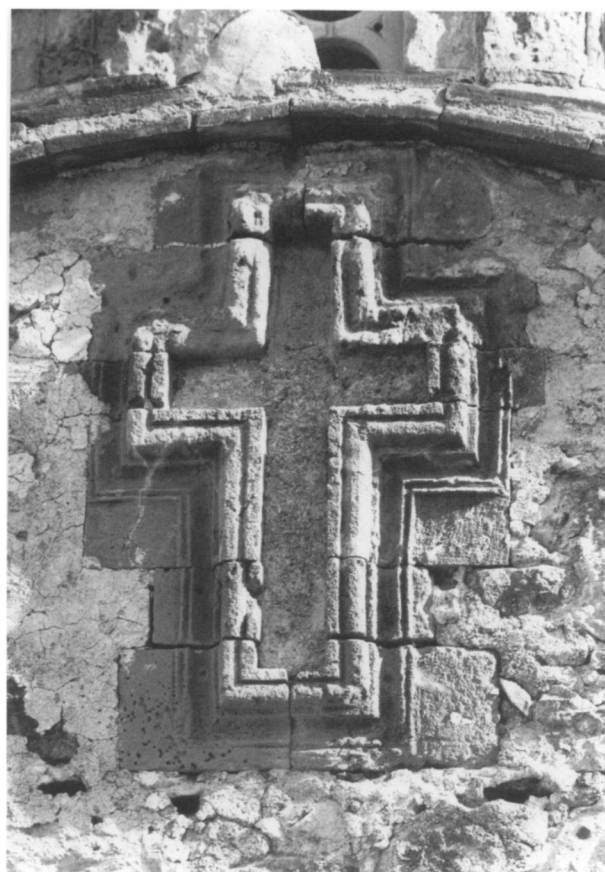


Fig. 45 Holy Trinity, Koutsovendis, molded cross. Photo by C. Mango

394 Several references during the 12th c. in A. Jotischky, *The Perfection of Solitude: Hermits and Monks in the Crusader States* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1995), 68, 77, 82, 94–95. Note, however, that, as in the case of Yialia on Cyprus, the architecture of the mid-11th-c. church of the Georgian monastery of the Cross outside Jerusalem betrays no obvious Georgian affinities (Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, 2: 33–40 [above, n. 50]).

395 Mango, “Monastery of Chrysostomos,”

70–71, where the possibility that the cross may date from a later period is also suggested; but see also Ćurčić, *Middle Byzantine Architecture*, 17 n. 22 (above, n. 301).

396 The Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrankomi has a simple cruciform window on the west wall of the nave (medieval phase?), now largely concealed by the dome of the narthex (Megaw and Hawkins, *Panagia Kanakaria*, fig. 29 [above, n. 341]); the apse of the much-later Saint George of

the River at Tersephanou near Larnaca is pierced by a wide cruciform opening surrounded by an elaborately carved pattern within a plain border (mentioned briefly by Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*, 438 [above, n. 284]). For the molded cross at Sinai (which opens into the roof above the coffered ceiling of the basilica), see P. Grossmann, “Architecture,” in *Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery of Saint Catherine*, ed. K. A. Manafis (Athens, 1990), pl. 10.

Georgian architecture. Indeed one particular example of uncertain date on the tenth-century fortification walls of Ani closely resembles the Koutsovendis cross.³⁹⁷ The channels through which an element such as this, perhaps emanating from the architectural traditions of the Caucasus, may have been introduced to Cyprus are difficult to identify. They must have involved Syria-Palestine once more. Indeed eleventh-century buildings put up by monastic communities from the Caucasus in areas such as the Black Mountain in the region of Antioch show that sometimes these communities also imported the architecture of their native lands (church of the Wood of Life).³⁹⁸

Despite its destruction, several elements from the interior decoration of the katholikon either have survived or are known through the accounts of earlier visitors. The curving surface of the squinches provided an ideal support for mosaic decoration; there is nevertheless no evidence to suggest that this expensive medium was ever used in the katholikon.³⁹⁹ In fact no medieval mosaic has survived from Byzantine Cyprus, although tiny fragments in one of the two domes at Saint Barnabas outside Salamis/Constantia (eleventh/twelfth century?) indicate that some of the island's most important monuments may have been thus adorned.⁴⁰⁰ Our travelers do allude to wall paintings though,⁴⁰¹ and Cornelis van Bruyn (1683) mentions a Pantokrator surrounded by damaged figures in the dome.⁴⁰² It would appear that the building was also decorated with wall panels made of opus sectile: Otto von Richter (1816) mentions rather cryptically that "over and by the three doors" (leading out into the narthex) there were "the remains of old mosaic made not of glass but of colored stone."⁴⁰³ The loss of the monumental decoration is of course one of the most regrettable aspects of the destruction of the church, for a comparison of its frescoes with the surviving fragments in the parekklesion would have certainly been most illuminating.

397 P. Cuneo, *L'architettura armena dal quarto al diciannovesimo secolo*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1988), 2: 806–7. On the walls see A. Taylor, "The Walls of Ani: Sign as Function," in *Ani: World Architectural Heritage of a Medieval Armenian Capital*, ed. S. P. Cowe (Leuven, 2001), 69–75.

398 Djobadze, *Archaeological Investigations* (above, n. 34).

399 The "tolerable mosaic of variegated stones" mentioned by Alexander Drummond (1750) presumably refers to the opus sectile floor (Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, 300 [above, n. 59]; Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," 65).

400 A. H. S. Megaw, "Interior Decoration in Early Christian Cyprus," in *Actes du XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Rapports et co-rapports* (Athens, 1976), 5:27. The church of Saint Barnabas was one of the island's most important pilgrimage shrines, built next to what was thought to be the tomb of the founder of the Church of Cyprus. The observation of A. Guillou about "l'abondance notable des mosaïques jusqu'au XIIe siècle . . ." is surely due to an oversight ("La géographie historique de l'île de Chypre," 31 [above, n. 4]).

401 "painted all over within," according to Richard Pococke (1738) and "dipinta

alla maniera greca," according to Giovanni Mariti (1767) (Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," 65–66); Otto von Richter (1816) admits that the height of the ceiling and the darkness in the church did not allow him to see clearly whether its decoration was made of mosaic or fresco (Richter, *Wallfahrten im Morgenlande*, 318 [above, n. 275]).

402 "een groot Christus-beeld, met het halve lyf geschilderd, gelyk mede rondom heen verscheydene Figuren" (*Reizen van Cornelis de Bruyn*, 368 [above, n. 252]).

403 Richter, *Wallfahrten im Morgenlande*, 318; Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," 66.

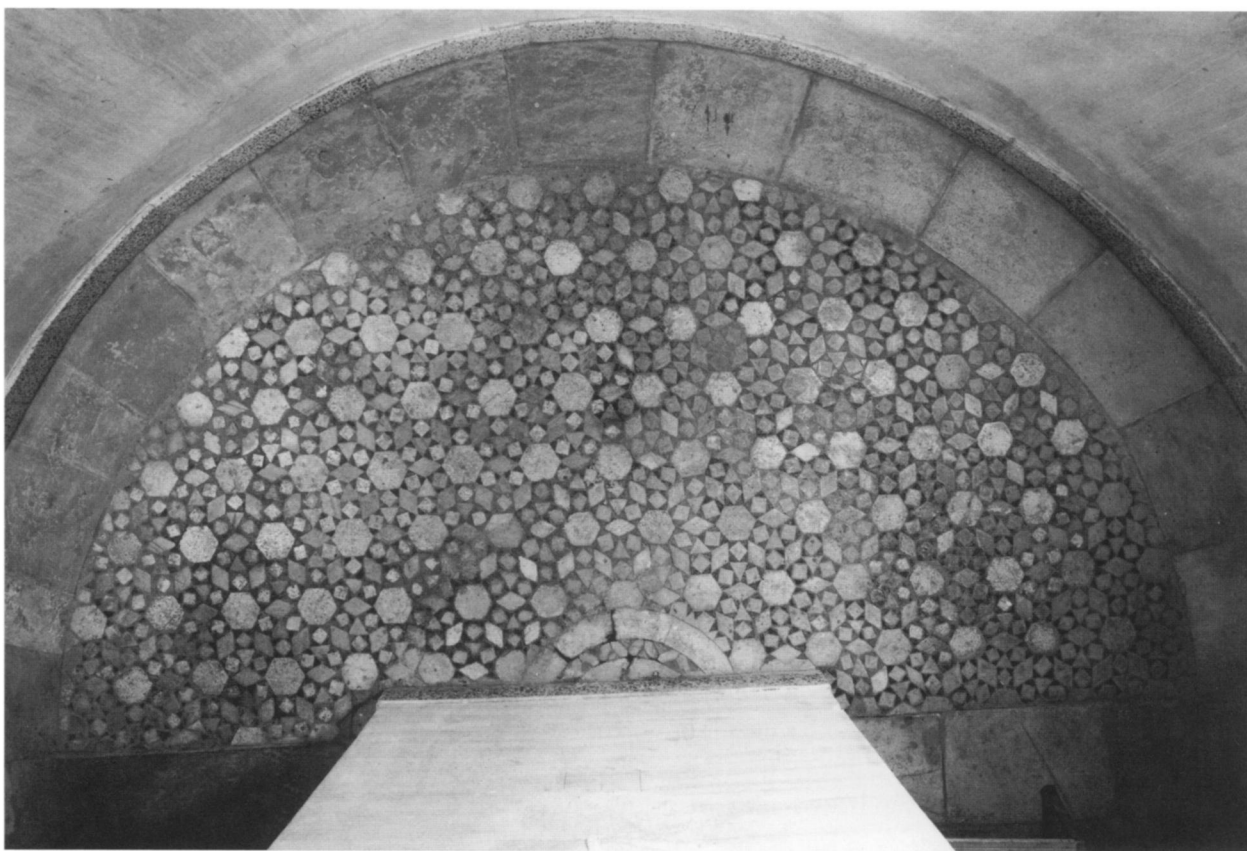
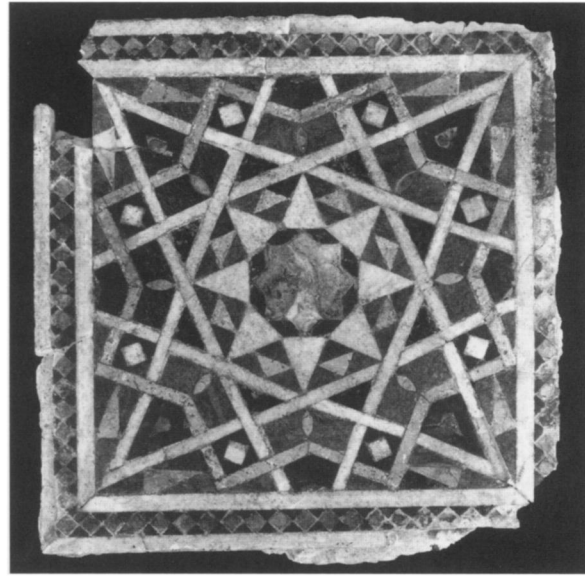
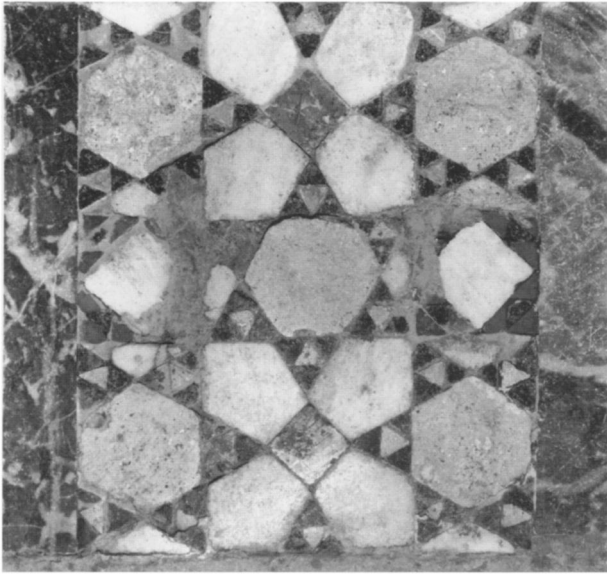


Fig. 46 Katholikon, Koutsovendis, opus sectile pavement in main apse. Photo by C. Mango

An equally important element of the interior decoration, which has fortunately survived in part, is the opus sectile floor. Various fragments of different design were incorporated in the pavement of the church of 1891 and have been described on several occasions.⁴⁰⁴ The most extensive fills the space between the curving wall of the main apse and the altar (built in masonry and dating from a later period); its design is based on small triangular, square, and diamond-shaped crustae which radiate from larger hexagons, and is most unusual, unlike both late antique and contemporary medieval examples known from elsewhere in the Byzantine world (fig. 46). The rectangular panels flanking the altar table on the other hand adhere to patterns well known from middle Byzantine pavements. In the center of the nave there is a large square frame of Proconnesian marble and within this a smaller square panel that clearly formed part of a larger geometric composition, now lost (fig. 47). A loose panel

⁴⁰⁴ Mango, "Monastery of Chrysostomos," 68; D. Michaelides, "Opus Sectile in Cyprus," in *"Sweet Land of Cyprus,"* 79–80 (above, n. 26); Michaelides, "The Opus Sectile of the Southern Church of the Monastery of Ayios Chrysostomos at Koutsovendis and

Jacques Georges Desmeules," in *Philokypros: Mélanges de Philologie et d'Antiquités grecques et proche-orientales dédiés à la mémoire d'Olivier Masson*, ed. L. Dubois and E. Masson (Salamanca, 2000), 223–28.



was also preserved at the monastery and may be the “lovely tessellated pavement of the medieval kind” which was seen in 1893 by Elizabeth Lewis in the monastery’s reception room (fig. 48):⁴⁰⁵ its pattern is based on concentric eight-pointed stars of different shape formed by stripes of white marble and set within a square frame; the latter was originally much wider, as shown by a sketch made in the 1920s by the Swiss engineer Jacques Georges Desmeules, who also made drawings of other parts of the pavement.⁴⁰⁶

Although the technique of opus sectile is well attested in late antique Cyprus, it was much less common in medieval times. Koutsovendis, in fact, provides the only certain example from this period on the island. The much simpler and poorly preserved fragmentary panels in the churches of Saint Lazaros (Larnaca) and Saint George (Kyrenia castle) are very different: they mostly employ traditional designs known from earlier centuries and, at least in the case of the latter building, may perhaps not even be of medieval date.⁴⁰⁷ Koutsovendis is exceptional not only because its floor was decorated with the expensive medium of opus sectile with, what is more, a rich variety of often elaborate patterns, but also because some of these very patterns are unique in the context of medieval Byzantine pavements. The loose panel with

Fig. 47 Katholikon, Koutsovendis, opus sectile pavement in the nave. Photo by C. Mango

Fig. 48 Loose opus sectile panel, Koutsovendis. Photo by C. Mango

405 Photographs of the various opus sectile panels have been published in Mango, “Monastery of Chrysostomos,” figs. 10–14; E. Lewis, *Lady’s Impressions of Cyprus*, 326–27 (above, n. 216).

406 Michaelides, “Jacques Georges Desmeules,” pl. 7, and Severis, *Travelling Artists*, 198–99 (above, n. 273). Its fate after

1974 is not known.

407 Michaelides, “Opus Sectile,” 77–79; on the two churches see Papacostas, “Byzantine Cyprus,” 2: 34–35, 54–55 (above, n. 4). There are indications that other, no longer surviving monuments may also have had opus sectile floors: see, for example, the “small mosaic of different coloured stones

and marbles” in the (late medieval?) timber-roofed basilica of Saint Luke at Palaichori (Troodos), mentioned by Jeffery, *Description*, 304 (above, n. 284); see also S. Sophocleous, *Palaichoria: Centuries of Heritage* (Nicosia, 2002), 161–62.

its strikingly angular design and pattern formed by stripes is typical of Islamic decoration⁴⁰⁸ and bears no relationship to the curvilinear shapes of Constantinopolitan work of the same period. If it does indeed come from the original phase of the katholikon—and there is no reason to believe otherwise—then its manufacture on Cyprus in the late eleventh century would add yet another startling element to those features from the building's architecture investigated above which allude to the artistic traditions not of Constantinople but of the Islamic East.

Marble was used liberally in the decoration of the katholikon.⁴⁰⁹ Although, as in the parekklesion, there is no evidence that its lower walls were ever revetted with marble slabs, nor that there were carved marble cornices or window mullions, other parts of the building were adorned with and some of its furnishings were made of marble. One large and two smaller door frames of Proconnesian marble, which form a pair, survived the demolition of the katholikon and were reused in the new church and in the refurbished parekklesion (fig. 49).⁴¹⁰ They most probably come from the three doors that linked the naos to the narthex and are described by several of our travelers.⁴¹¹ We have already seen that two of the six colonnettes, also of Proconnesian marble, which were erected in 1963 in the parekklesion to form the frame of a templon, perhaps also originated in the katholikon (the remaining four clearly belong to a group): in 1735 Barskii reported four columns “in thickness thinner than a human neck” inside the south church whose “carved iconostasis” was almost certainly made of wood.⁴¹² The columns must have formed part of the original templon, whose existence is implied in the typikon through the mention

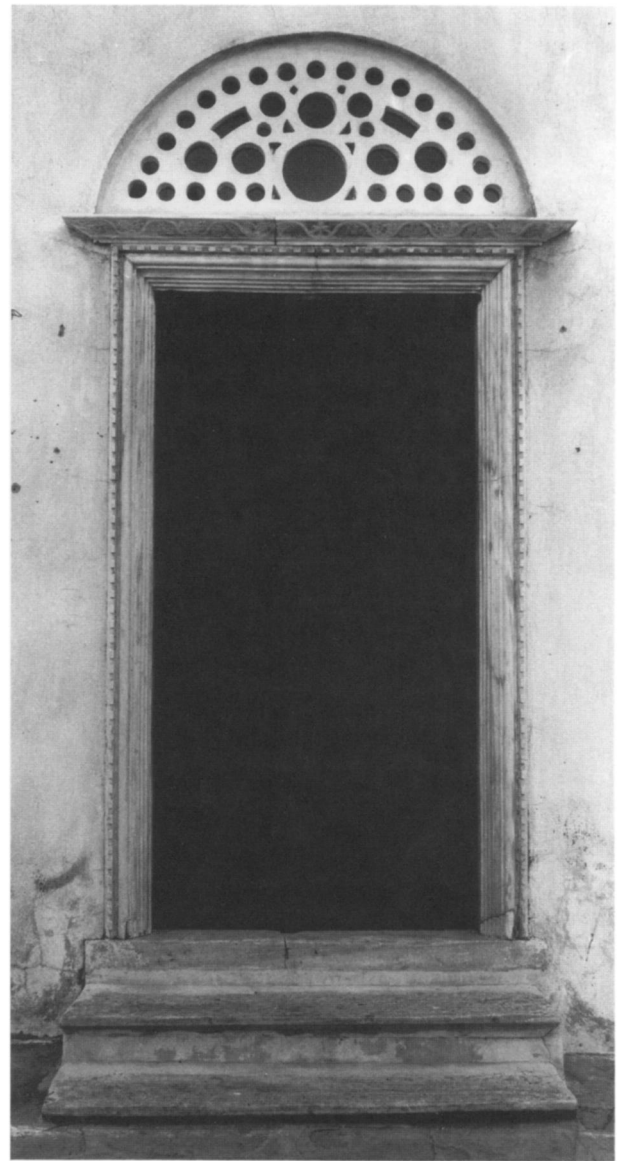


Fig. 49 Katholikon, Koutsovendis, marble door frame in the west doorway of the church of 1891. Photo by C. Mango

⁴⁰⁸ See for example the 14th-c. enameled and gilded basin at the Cleveland Museum of Art and a matching glass plate at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, both probably from Mameluke Egypt (S. Carboni and D. Whitehouse, *Glass of the Sultans* [New York, 2001], 272–73), and a contemporary vase (E. Atil, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks* [Washington, D.C., 1981], 132–33).

⁴⁰⁹ According to Barskii, in 1735 there were “broken and smashed precious marbles which have been removed from their places” (Grishin, *A Pilgrim's Account*, 29–30 [above, n. 62]).

⁴¹⁰ Two frames were inserted in the west and southwest door of the new church (presumably in 1891), while the third frame was inserted in the west door of the Holy Trinity in 1947 (fig. 16).

⁴¹¹ Mango, “Monastery of Chrysostomos,” 68–69; they are also mentioned in the typikon, as the “royal doors” (see p. 54 above).

⁴¹² See p. 111 above; Mango, “Monastery of Chrysostomos,” 71; Grishin, *A Pilgrim's Account*, 39; the height given by Barskii for the colonnettes corresponds to ca. 3.15 m, whereas the surviving colonnettes measure ca. 2.50 m (save one that is truncated).

of its “holy doors” (f. 221v). If we assume that it consisted of three parts divided by the eastern piers under the dome, which is the most likely arrangement, it would have required a larger number of vertical supports (probably eight);⁴¹³ some of these were apparently lost or moved elsewhere some time after the new iconostasis was erected during the Ottoman period. It is presumably this or a later replacement that George Jeffery in the beginning of the twentieth century reported as having originated in the parekklesion.⁴¹⁴ His remark was probably prompted by the fact that the carved screen in the 1891 church consisted of an older central part that had been augmented by more recent lateral additions, as Jeffery himself observed. This need not necessarily imply a provenance from the north church, though, for the central part of the templon in the original south church would have been relatively narrow too (ca. 3 m) and would have certainly required additional portions to span the uninterrupted width of the new church (ca. 8 m) when it was re-erected there.

The Proconnesian and other marbles used for the pavement and doorframes, as well as the colonnettes themselves, are almost certainly spolia, since marble is not quarried on Cyprus.⁴¹⁵ In the later fifth and sixth centuries, it was imported in large quantities for the architectural elements and decoration of both ecclesiastical and secular buildings.⁴¹⁶ It is presumably from such earlier structures that marble for the decoration of the katholikon was taken. We have already seen that the templon reconstructed in the Holy Trinity provides unambiguous evidence not only for the reuse of architectural elements but also for their probable provenance from Salamis/Constantia.

One last element that survived the demolition of the katholikon and found a new home in the church of 1891 is a pair of wooden door valves (fig. 50). These were initially placed on the outer face of the



Fig. 50. Katholikon, Koutsovendis, lower half of the northern door valve. Photo by C. Mango

⁴¹³ Although the vertical supports of medieval templa were most often of square section in their lower part in order to hold better the parapet slabs inserted between them, examples such as ours, often employing reused columns, are not lacking; see, for example, J.-P. Sodini, “Une iconostase byzantine à Xanthos,” *Actes du Colloque sur la Lycie antique* (Paris, 1980), 119–48; and, from within Cyprus, the templon of the

Acheiropoiotos (Soteriou, *Βυζαντινά μνημεία*, plate 145 [above, n. 285]).

⁴¹⁴ Jeffery, *Summary*, 20–21 (above, n. 286). This piece of information is omitted in his later *Description*, 273 (above, n. 284).

⁴¹⁵ Despite Etienne de Lusignan’s claim that there were “marmori di ogni sorte nelli monti di Cuzuventi” (*Chorograffia*, 87v. [omitted in the revised and augmented French edition of 1580]). The area around

Koutsovendis was in the past and is still today quarried for limestone.

⁴¹⁶ T. Papacostas, “The Economy of Late Antique Cyprus,” in *Economy and Exchange in the East Mediterranean during Late Antiquity: Proceedings of a Conference at Somerville College, Oxford–29th May, 1999*, ed. S. Kingsley and M. Decker (Oxford, 2001), 115.

western entrance to the new church, but were replaced by a pair of modern valves and moved for better protection to the inner face of the same doorway in 1939. They were almost certainly carved for the central door leading from the narthex into the naos. Like the opus sectile floor, their design is most unusual among contemporary Byzantine examples and, as Cyril Mango has observed, is more akin to Islamic work. Indeed one may cite both earlier (Umayyad) and later (Seljuk) woodcarvings that to a certain extent recall our door valves.⁴¹⁷ It is, however, in Coptic Egypt that the closest parallels are to be found: the iconostasis in the church of Abu Saifain (Saint Merkourios) in Old Cairo is largely made of decorated rectangles surrounded by plain wide framing bands; but the top register bears a cruciform panel containing a rinceau motif with small square panels between the cross arms separated by the same wide framing bands. The entire composition is strongly reminiscent of the design of the Koutsovendis door and, moreover, is thought to date from approximately the same period (late eleventh/twelfth century).⁴¹⁸ Comparable woodwork survives at the church of al-Mu'allāqa, also in Cairo, with a pattern based on crosses among square panels.⁴¹⁹

This review of the architecture and decoration of the katholikon has often led us toward the Syro-Palestinian mainland and away from Constantinople and the core provinces of the empire. Nevertheless neither northern Syria nor Palestine, the regions with which the founder George was most associated, provide full answers to the puzzle of the architectural type, not least because of the paucity of surviving or excavated monuments from this period in these areas. The evidence from the Holy Sepulcher, though, cannot be overlooked. The fact that it shares with the katholikon and contemporary structures on Cyprus important constituent elements of their architectural vocabulary (including the use of brick, banded voussoirs, and domes on squinches), most of which in neither region form part of the local tradition, is certainly significant. The decoration of the katholikon

417 State Archives SA1/1473/1937 (pp. 9, 13, 17); Mango, "Monastery of Chrystomos," 69; the late-7th/early-8th-c. doors from Mar Elyan near Qaryatayn in Syria have a comparable rinceau motif running around the square and rectangular panels of each valve (H. Stern, "Quelques oeuvres sculptées en bois, os et ivoire de style omeyyade," *Ars Orientalis* 1 [1954]: 119–25). As for the window shutter from the late-13th-c. Eşrefoğlu mosque in Beyşehir (southwest of Ikonion/Konya), the overall concept of

the design is very similar to our doors, with small rectangular panels (bearing a rinceau pattern) divided by wide, molded framing bands (D. Hill and O. Grabar, *Islamic Architecture and Its Decoration, A.D. 800–1500* [London, 1964], fig. 451).

418 E. Pauty, *Bois sculptés d'églises coptes (époque fatimide)* (Cairo, 1930), 34 and plate 24; another piece of woodwork (of unspecified function) from the same church bears a pattern made of crosses with larger square panels among them, similarly divided by

wide framing bands (A. Gayet, *L'art copte: École d'Alexandrie-architecture monastique-sculpture-peinture-art somptuaire* [Paris, 1902], 244).

419 Johann Georg, Herzog zu Sachsen, *Streifzüge durch die Kirchen und Klöster Ägyptens* (Leipzig, 1914), fig. 18. On both monuments and their decoration, with extensive bibliography, see C. Coquin, *Les édifices chrétiens du Vieux-Caire*, vol. 1. *Bibliographie et topographie historiques* (Cairo, 1974), 3–36, 63–86.

provides more tangible evidence of links with the Syro-Palestinian mainland. What is nevertheless slightly disconcerting in both cases is the variety of contemporary sources that our monument evokes, very often indirectly: they include Constantinopolitan building practices perhaps—although by no means certainly—transmitted through the intermediary of the Christian architecture of Palestine, echoes of the Georgian and Armenian traditions filtered presumably through northern Syria and possibly Jerusalem, too, and even allusions to Coptic art, in addition to references to the vast wealth of the Islamic artistic output from the wider region.

The manner through which these trickled across the sea to Cyprus and resurfaced in elements of the architecture and decoration of this particular monument is not difficult to imagine: Jerusalem and the Holy Land with its numerous pilgrimage shrines and religious communities must have surely acted as a focal point, a place of convergence for many, if not all of the above. The founder George and his fellow monks were of course not merely familiar with the Syro-Palestinian mainland but had indeed come from there. Some of the members of George's entourage may have been skilled craftsmen, versed in the intricacies of wood, marble, and stone carving, and trained in the workshops of Syria and Palestine.⁴²⁰ Of course we have also seen that, even if the evidence from Koutsovendis is set aside, there are other indications that Cyprus maintained close links with Palestine during this period; masons and craftsmen from there may have been present on the island well before the arrival of George and his monks. None of the monuments surviving on Cyprus, however, displays such an array of elements that are new and foreign to the local tradition.⁴²¹ Within this context the *katholikon* is unique and this must be surely due to the origin of its founder and his community.⁴²²

The lavish decoration of the *katholikon* (*opus sectile* floor, carved wooden doors, marble door frames and *templon*, wall-paintings) indicates that no expense was spared, although, significantly, the leap from fresco to mosaic was not made, perhaps for practical reasons. The information at hand indicates that among the buildings put up during this period on Cyprus this was perhaps one of the most ostentatious. Its architectural type was as uncommon as it was sophisticated,

420 Although the *typikon* provides no relevant evidence, monks with specialized skills are attested elsewhere in this period, a case in point being the community of Lazaros on Mount Galesion where we hear of monks who were also accomplished builders (AASS Nov. 3 [Brussels, 1910] 526A-B, 527F).

421 I have argued elsewhere that a group of monuments mostly in the northern part of Cyprus may betray the import of Byzantine building practices from Asia Minor as a result of a movement of populations during the same period (Papacostas, "Architecture et communautés étrangères" [above, n. 5]).

422 Of course we have no way of knowing to what extent vanished buildings put up by founders and/or communities from the mainland (Machairas, metochia of Holy Sepulcher, Saint Theodosios, Sinai) departed from the norms prevailing in the local architectural tradition.

and its construction (as far as we can tell) of an unusually high standard.⁴²³ The founder George somehow managed to pull together considerable resources and acquired the necessary funds through means that have gone undocumented. There is no evidence that his monastery enjoyed imperial patronage, something that one would expect the typikon to mention had this been the case.⁴²⁴ Nor does our document contain a commemoration for any patron other than Eumathios Philokales. But in view of the chronology, Eumathios cannot have been involved with the foundation of the monastery and the construction of its katholikon in 1090. The question of the financial background to George's foundation has therefore to remain open.

—Tassos Papacostas, *King's College, London*

423 The quality of the architecture would suggest that the lavish decoration was at least planned, if not executed, at the same time.

424 Franz Unger reported seeing in 1862 an inscription in the narthex (dedicatory?) that he was unable to read (Unger and Kotschy, *Die Insel Cypern*, 514 [above,

n. 264]). It should also be noted that of course imperial patronage did not necessarily result in lavish buildings, a case in point being the katholikon built by Christodoulos on Patmos. Conversely, some of the most elaborate surviving middle Byzantine churches are not documented imperial foundations (Hosios Loukas, Daphni).

*The Letter of Nikon of the Black Mountain
to the Founder George*

The letter of Nikon is preserved in Sin. gr. 441, which is dated to the 12th century (D. Harlfinger, D. R. Reinsch, and J. A. M. Sonderkamp, *Specimina Sinaitica: Die datierten griechischen Handschriften des Katharinen-Klosters auf dem Berge Sinai, 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert* [Berlin, 1983], 61). It is written in vernacular Greek; therefore it contributes a lot to the history of the Medieval Greek language. The spelling has been changed according to the rules of classical/Byzantine text editions. The original spelling (including orthographical errors) can be found in the apparatus criticus. Square brackets ([]) indicate textual loss due to physical damage, while angle brackets (< >) indicate editorial addition. Abbreviations are recorded in the apparatus criticus.

Sinait. Gr. 436 (441), 82v–85r

82v θ' † Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν κύριν Γεώργιον τὸν ἡγούμενον τοῦ Κουτζουβέντι·
καὶ ὅτι τὰ συντείνοντα ταῖς θείαις καὶ ἐνθέσμοις γραφαῖς οὐ δεῖ περιεργάζεσθαι
τοὺς λέγοντα<ς> ἢ τοὺς γράφοντα<ς>, καθὼς ὁ κύριος λέγει, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῆς
Μωσέως καθεδράς ἐκάθισαν καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

Πνευματικέ μου τίμιε πάτερ, ἐζήτησες ἀπὸ τὸν ἐνταῦθα πατέρα μου τίμιον
τὸν μοναχὸν κύριν Κλήμην ἐρευνᾶν περὶ τῶν συναχθέντων κεφαλαίων ἐκ τῆς
θείας προνοίας εἰς τὰ βιβλίτζα, καὶ τοῦτο παρακαλῶ τὴν ἀγιωσύνην σ[ου] καὶ
ἐν Κυρίῳ σου ἀγάπην, ἵνα τὰ αὐτοῦ ὄντα βιβλίτζα ἐνέχῃς ἐρευνητικῶς καὶ οὐ
παροδευτικῶς· καὶ ἔχεις διὰ τ[ῆς] χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ εὐρεῖν καὶ νοῆσειν πάντα,
ὅτι εὐκολ[ον] ἔχουν τὸ νόημα διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ· οὐκ ἦν γὰρ οὔτε ἀπ'
ἐμῆς γνώσεως λαλούμενα· οὔτε ἀπὸ ἄλλου τινὸς σαρκ[ικ]οῦ ἔχοντος φρόνημα,
ἀλλὰ μόνον σύναψις ἐνὶ ἐκ τ[ῶν] θείων γραφῶν καὶ φιλοπονία κατὰ θεόν· καὶ
κατὰ ἕκαστον κεφάλαιον ἔχει τὴν ὑπογραφὴν τὸ ἀπὸ ποῖα |83r ἐνὶ γραφῇ· ἀπὸ
τὰ ἐνθεσμα βιβλία χάριτι Χριστοῦ καὶ τὰ φανερά, ἃ ἐπαρέλαβεν νόμους θεοῦ
καὶ κανόνας καὶ ἐντολάς, λόγους τε καὶ ἐρμηνείας τῶν θείων πατέρων καὶ
διδασκάλων τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ αὐτοῦ, πάτερ μου
τίμιε, νομοκάνονα· ἔχετε τὰ ἅπερ ἔχουν γεγραμμένας τὰς ἀγίας συνόδους καὶ
τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ βιβλία χάριτι Χριστοῦ· καὶ καθὼς ἐπιγράφει τὸ κεφάλαιον εἴτε ὁ
κανὼν, ψηλάφα καὶ ἐκεῖ νὰ τὸ εὐρίσκεις· καὶ οὐ χρεῖα ἐνὶ πολλῆς τῆς ζητήσεως
παρὰ ἄλλων χάριτι Χριστοῦ τέως εἰς ταῦτα εἰς τοὺς γραφὰς εἰδόμενος· εἰ μὴ νὰ
ἐνὶ τελείῳ τίς †πον † μὴ εἰδόμενος ποτὲ γραφῇ· εἴτε ἔχοντα ὅλως βιβλία· εἰ δὲ καὶ
ἔγκεινται εἰς τὰ βιβλίτζα κεφάλαια τινὰ εἰς τινὰς ἔχοντα ἀπορίαν, οὐδὲ αὐτὰ
κεῖντεν χάριτι Χριστοῦ ἀνερμήνευτα καὶ ἀμάρτυρα, ἀλλὰ σχόλια ἔχουν τὰς
ἐπικυρώσεις καὶ ἐρμηνείας ἔχοντα ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν· καὶ ἐπειδὴ
συναρμοζούσας ἔχουν τὰς θείας γραφὰς, καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἐκείνων νοῦν οὐ
παρεκβαίνουν, εἴτινος θέλουν ἅς ἦν, καὶ ἐγὼ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ ἔβαλα εἰς τὰ
βιβλίτζα, ὅτι κατὰ σκοπὸν λαλοῦσι τῶν θείων γραφῶν καὶ οὐχὶ καθὼς ἠθέλεν

καὶ ἔπραττεν σαρκικὸς ὃν ὅπου τὸ κεφάλαιον εἶπεν καὶ ἔγραψεν· καὶ ἐγὼ, πάτερ μου τίμιε, εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιος, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκεῖνο κατακολουθῶ τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ Κυρίου τὸ λέγον ἐπὶ τῆς Μωσέως καθέδρας ἐκάθην, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. καὶ ἶδε, πάτερ μου, εἰς τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον καὶ νὰ εὔρεις τὴν ὠφέλειαν τοῦ ῥητοῦ. 30

Καὶ οὐ μὴ μεμθῶ τέως εἰς τοῦτο παρὰ τῆς ἀγιωσύνης <σ>ου, ὅτι εἴτε γραφὴν ἂν εὔρω εἴτε λόγον ἂν ἀκούσω· οὐ ζητῶ τὸν γράψαντα ἢ τὸν λαλήσαντα, ἀλλὰ τὸν λόγον καὶ τὸ γραφόμενον, ἐὰν ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν· καὶ πλέον οὐκ ἐξετάζω οὔτε ἀκριβολογοῦμαι εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ ἀνάξιον 35

παιδί σου θαρρῶν εἰς τὴν ἐν Κυρίῳ σου ἀγάπην ὡς πατέρα μου λέγω σε τὴν αἰτίαν μου, ὅτι τὸν τῆς ἀγάπης |83ν δεσμὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατατυραννοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὐκ οἶδ[α] ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν τέως εἴ τι ὁ θεὸς οἰκονομήσει εἰς ἐμὲ εἴτε [σωμ]ατικὸν εἴτε πνευματικόν, οὐ δύναμαι τοῦτο κρατῆσαι [. . .] ἐαυτὸν μου μόνον. ἀλλ'εὐθὺς πνίγομαι μεταδίδειν τὸν πλησίον μου. καὶ πολλάκις καὶ ὅλον 40

ἐξόλου μεταδίδωμι ἐγὼ ὑστερούμενος. καὶ ὁ χρήζων τοῦ ἅς τὸ ἐπάρ[ει] καὶ ὁ μὴ χρήζων τοῦ ἅς τὸ ἀφήσει· πλεῖον τίποτες, πάτερ μου, οὐ γινώσκω περὶ τούτων, εἰ μὴ ταῦτα· καὶ ὅμως, πάτερ μου, τίποτες τὰ βιβλίζοντα οὐκ ἔχουν περὶ δόγματος πίστεως, ἵνα ἔχουν ὑπόληψιν, τίποτες διὰ τὴν χωρ[ι]κίαν μου καὶ ιδιωτείαν. 45

ἀλλὰ ὅλα πρακτικὰ ἦν καὶ τῆς πράξεως διαλέγονται. καὶ φανερῶνουν τὰ λανθάνοντα τοῖς πολλοῖς. καὶ ἐκ τῆς λήθης ἤλθομεν εἰς καταφρόνησιν καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς πλάνην· καὶ ἐνεπέσαμεν εἰς τὸ ἐγκόσμιον καὶ πολυαμάρτητον φρόνημα. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐπαρעχωρίθημεν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐδουλώθημεν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀνάγκη χάριτι Χριστοῦ περὶ πίστεως δογματίζειν νὰ ἐνι 50

ὑπόληψις καθὼς καὶ προεῖπα, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀκτημοσύνης καὶ μ[α]λιστα τὰ ἀρμόζοντα μοναχοῖς· καὶ λοιπῆς καθάρσεως ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος τὰ ἀρμόζοντα ὅλοις χριστιαν[οῖς], μᾶλλον δὲ ἡμῖν τοῖς ὀρθοδόξοις χάριτι Χριστοῦ· καὶ διὰ τ[οῦ]το χάριτι Χριστοῦ οὐδεμία ὑπόληψις εὐλογος ἐν αὐτοῖς ἄρξει, ὅτι οὐ διὰ πίστιν διαλέγονται καθὰ καὶ προεῖπα τὴν ἀγιωσύνην σου. 55

Τὸ δὲ ζητῆσαι περὶ τὴν νηστεί[αν] τῆς θεοτόκου εὐκολον τὸ ἔχεις αὐτοῦ· ἐκεῖ νὰ εὔρεις εἰς τὰ βιβλίζοντα λεπτομερῶς πάντων τὴν εἶδησιν, ὅτι οὐκ πώποτε ὅτι ποιεῖτε οὕτως καὶ οὕτως ἀποφαντικῶς· εἴτε διδάσκων ἐξουσιαστικῶς, ἀλλὰ καθὼς ἡῦρα φεῦρ. εἰς† τῆς θεοτόκου ἔγραψα, ὅτι λέγει ἡ ἐδεποία γραφὴ πρ[ὸς] τοῦτο τόδε τι[.] καὶ ποιοῦν ἐδετίνες τόδε τι· ὅσα δὲ ἡῦρα κατὰ παράδωσιν 60

ἐγράψαμεν· ὅτι καθὼς τινὲς ἐπα |84r ρέδωκαν καὶ τινες ποιοῦσιν τὰδε γραφικὰ καὶ τὰ τὰς θείας ἔχουν γραφὰς ἔγραψα, ὅτι λέγει ἡ ἐδεποία γραφὴ [τ]όδε τι ἄλλο οὐδέν· καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα χάριτι Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχουν ὑπόληψιν οἰανδῆποτε ἢ κίνδυνον· καὶ ὅμως συγχώρεσόν [μ]ε, πάτερ μου, ἐγὼ ἐλεεινὸς εἶμαι, ἀλλὰ τάξον ὡς νομίζω ἀγα[θ]ὸν τὰ τὴν θεοτόκον ὅτ' ἂν ἀκούσω· εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς 65

γραφόμενον τίποτες ἢ λαλούμενον φρίσσω, ὅτι καὶ ἐγὼ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πολλὰ †ἀντεστάθην†, ὅτ' ἂν τὸ ἤκουσα εἴτε ἐθεώρουν τινὰς ὅτι ἐκρατοῦσαν το, ἕως οὐ ἐπόνεσα καὶ ἡῦρα τὰς θείας γραφὰς μαρτυροῦντας· καὶ οὐκ ἦν, πάτερ μου, περὶ πίστεως δόγματος, καθὼς καὶ προεῖπα, ἵνα ἔχει ὑπόληψιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ πράξεως 70

ἐνι καὶ ἐγκράτειαν τὴν ἐπαινομένην παρὰ πᾶσαν θείαν γραφήν· καὶ ἀρμόζουσαν εἰς πάντα καιρὸν καὶ ἡμέραν καὶ περιεκτικῶς ἀριθμουμένην παρὰ

τῷ ἀποστόλῳ εἰς τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν πνευματικῶν χαρισμάτων· οὕτε πάλιν νηστεία ἐκ τῶν κεκωλυμένων ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις καὶ κυριακαῖς καὶ δεσποτικαῖς μεγάλαις ἑορταῖς τεύχ.. αὐτὸ προαγνισμὸς καὶ προκάθαρσις ἐκ πίστεως τῆς θεοτόκου τῆς καθαρᾶς καὶ ἀμολύντου.

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Καὶ ὁμως, πάτερ μου, τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν σὲ ἔπεμψα μετὸν Θεόδωρον νὰ τὴν πέμψεις τὸν ἀββᾶν Γεράσιμον· ἀνάγνωσέ τὴν καὶ ἐκεῖ νὰ εὕρεις ὅλον μου τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ τὸ φρόνημα περὶ τούτου. τοῦτο δὲ γίνωσκε, πάτερ μου, ὅτι τὰ ὄντα φανερὰ καὶ μὴ ἔχοντα ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τινος οἰανδήποτε ἀντιλογίαν· ἐκεῖνα καὶ λέγω καὶ γράφω ἀφόβως μετὰ πληροφορίας· ὅσα δὲ ἔχουν τινὰς ὑπολήψεις εἴτε ἀντιλογίας· ταῦτα τὰ σκέψεως καὶ λέγω καὶ γράφω· προσθεῖτο καὶ τοῦτο· ὅτι ἐὰν δὲ ἔχει τινὰ ἄλλην τὴν γνώσιν καλλίον, ὁ ἀναγινώσκων σκοπήτω καὶ τὸ εὐάρεστον τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθω· οὕτως ποιῶ, πάτερ μου, χάριτι Χριστοῦ ἐμαυτὸν πάσης ἐγκλήσεως ἕξω βάλων παρὰ θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις· ζητῶν μᾶλλον τὸ κρεῖττον μαθεῖν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, πάτερ μου, καθὼς καὶ ἔγραψα· ἐὰν πάντα ἔρα |84ν νίσεις ἐν ἀκριβείᾳ καὶ πολλάκις εὕρισκεις τίποτες δυσνόητον εἴτε ἐκ τὰ κεφάλαια εἴτε ἐκ τὰ σχόλια καὶ νὰ ἔχει ἄλλ[ο] τινὲς νόημα παρακληθεῖν ἢ ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀγάπῃ σου καὶ ἕως οὗ ζῶ, γράφε με· καὶ ὥς ἐν θεοῦ θέλημα ἅς γίνεται, ὅτι ὁ ἐλεεινὸς ἐγὼ συνεργοῦντος μου τοῦ Κυρίου αὐτὰ ἦν τὸ ἔργον μου. καὶ ὥς νομίζω ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν, ἐὰν ἐξέτριψα ταῦτα· παρακαλῶ οὖν τὴν ἀγιωσύνην σου καὶ τὴν ἐν Κυρίῳ σου ἀγάπην, ἵνα με εὕξεσαι ἐσὺ καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐσὲ πατέρες μου καὶ ἀδελφοί, ἵνα με ἐλεήσει ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὑπεβγάλῃ με ἐκ τὰς παγίδας τοῦ κοινοῦ πάντων ἐχθροῦ διαβόλου· ὁμοίως καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου σαρκικοῦ φρονήματος καὶ θελήματος· καὶ ἀπὸ λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων σαρκικ[όν] ἐχόντων τὸ φρόνημά τε καὶ θέλημα. Πρεσβείαις τῆς θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων ἀμήν.

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Τοῦτο δέ, πάτερ μου, γράφω ὅτι ἐὰν τις τῶν αὐτόθι εἴτε καὶ εἰς ἄλλην χώραν εὗρεθῇ λέγων τι παρὰ τὰ ἔγραψα εἴτε ἐλάλησα καὶ λέγει τίποτ' ὥς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἐδικὰ του παραλόγως, μὴ εἰσακούεται, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ ἅς παιδεύεται ἀξίως. εἰ δὲ καὶ εὐλογα καὶ τὰς θεοπνεύστους γραφὰς ἐξηγᾶται, οὐδεὶς δύναται τοῦτον κωλύσαι, ὅτι ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ οὐ δέδεται καθὼς γέγραπται· καὶ ἐγὼ, πάτερ μου, μετὰ φόβου πολλοῦ καὶ ἀγάπης ἐπακροοῦμαι ταῦτα· εἴτε μαθητῆς μου ἢ ὁ λέγων εἴτε ξένος καθὼς αἰεὶ λέγω· οὐ ζητῶ τὸν λαλοῦντα, ἀλλὰ τὸ λαλούμενον· καὶ μάλιστα ὅτ' οὐκ ἔστιν περὶ δόγματος πίστεως, ἀλλὰ διδασκαλία πράξεως, ὅτι τὰ τῆς πίστεως χάριτι Χριστοῦ οἱ πρόων πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις συνόδοις ἐκαθέρισαν πάντα ἐν ἀκριβείᾳ καὶ ἐπαρέδωκάν μας· καὶ ἀσάλευτοι μένομεν ἐν τούτοις διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ χρεια ἦν ζητήσεως ἢ ἐξετάσεως περὶ πίστεως· εἴτε μετὰ αἰρετικῶν οἰωνδήποτε ἐξετάζειν καὶ γράφειν καὶ ἀσχολεῖσθαι ἐν τούτοις, ὅτι προλαβόντες οἱ πατέρες τούτους ἐχώρισαν ἀπ' ἐμᾶς· καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ συμφωνοῦν ἢ δέχονται τὰ ἡμέτερα οὔτε ἡμεῖς τῶν αὐτῶν διεστραμμένην διδασκαλίαν· καὶ λογομαχεῖν ἀκαίρως καὶ μάτην· ἀλλ' ἂρ |85r μοστὸν τοῦτο, πάτερ μου, ἔστι· εἰ μὴ πολλαχῶς, νεωστὶ τίποτες αἵρεσις ἀναφύεισα, εἰς οὐκ ἐφάνη ὑπὸ τῶν πρόων ἁγίων πατέρων εἰς τὰς ἀμεληθέντας, πάτερ μου, πράξεις ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἅς ἀγωνιστοῦμεν· καὶ κύριος ὁ θεὸς συνεργείῃ τοὺς ἐν ἀληθείᾳ αὐτὸν ἀγαπῶντας καὶ ἡμῖν εὐχομένους.

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Apparatus Criticus

3s. cf. Matt. 23:2: λέγων ἐπὶ τῆς Μωϋσέως καθε-
δρας ἐκάθισεν οἱ γραμματεῖς
32 cf. Matt. 23:2
48 cf. Jer. 25:11: δουλεύσουσιν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν
72 cf. Rom. 1:11

1 κύριν
2 γραφαῖς δὴ
3 κς
5 πνικε περ πρᾶ
8 κω ἀγάπιν ἐρευνητικῶς θυ
9 εὐρεῖν νοήσιν
11 <ἀ>πεμῆς γνώσεως λαλοῦμενα
12 θυ
13 ἕκαστον
14 Χυ φανερά θυ
15 ἐρμηνείας πρῶν
17 περ
18 λοιπὰ Χυ
19 ψιλάφα εὐρίσκis χρῆα ζητίσεως
20 Χυ μι
21 ἡδότα
22 ἐνκηνται κεφα
23 κήγτεν Χυ ἀνεμίνευτα
24 ἐπικυρώσεις
25 συναρμολοῦσας των
28 κεφα περ
29 κύ
30 ἐξῆς περ
31 ἐρμηνείαν Ματθαῖον εὐρις ὀφέλειαν
32 ἀγισύνησου
33 εὐρω
36 παιδὶν θαρῶν κω ἀγάπιν πρᾶ λέγωσαι
37 αἰτεῖαν
38 θς θς οἰκονομήσει...
39 ματικόν
40 πνικόν μεταδίδην
41 μεταδίδομαι ὑστεροῦμενος χρίζον μι
42 χρίζον περ
44 ιδιοτεῖαν
45 πρακτικᾶ πράξαιως φανερόνουν λίθης
46 ἡλθωμεν
48 θυ ἐδουλόθημεν
49 ἀνάγκει χυ
52 σώματος ἀρμολοῦντα
53 χυ χυ ὑπόλινψis
54 ἀρξῆ προίπα
56 θκου
57 εὐρις λεπτομερῶς ἰδῆσιν πόπωται
59 ἀν εὐρίσκis legendum? θκου γραφῆ
61 ἐπαρέδοκαν
62 γραφᾶς γραφῆ
63 χυ
64 περ ἐλεηνὸς εἶμε
65 θκον

68 γραφᾶς περ
69 προεῖπα πράξαιος
71 ἀρμολοῦσαν
72 πνικῶν
73 κεκολυμένων
75 θκον περ
77 πέμψis τιν εὐρις
78 περ
79 φανερά οἰανδήποτε ἐκείνα
81 προσθήττο
82 τῶ
83 θυ περ χυ
84 πάσεις ἐγκλίσεως θω ἀνοῖς
85 κρίττον περ
86 ἐρανῆσις εὐρίσκις
88 Κω ἀγάπι θυ
89 ἐλεηνὸς κύ
90 θς
91 κω ἀγάπιν πρες
92 ὑπευγάλη
95 θκου
96 περ ἐάν τις αὐτόθι
98 ἀπέμου πεδεύται ἀν παιδεύεται
legendum?
99 γραφᾶς ἐξηγάτε δύνατε
100 θυ
101 περ ἀγάπis μαθητῆς
104 χυ πρόην πρες
105 ἐπαρέδοκᾶν
106 μαίνομεν χυ
107 ζητίσεως οἰονδήποτε
108 γράφην
109 ἀπεμάς
110 λογομαχεῖν
111 περ εἰμι εἰμι νεοστή
112 πρόην πρῶν
113 ἕκαστο
114 κς θς ἀγαπόντας

Notes

8–9 cf. *Michaelis Glycae annales* (Bonn, 1836),
126.145. παροδευτικῶς ἐπερχόμενοι καὶ οὐκ
ἐρευνητικῶς τὴν γραφὴν
12 ἐνι = ἐστὶ A. N. Jannaris, *An Historical
Greek Grammar* (London, 1897), §985.1
23 κείντεν cf. V. Beneševič, *Taktikon Nikona
Chernogortska*. Zapiski historiko philologicheskago
Fakulteta Petrogradskago Universiteta
(Petrograd, 1917), 4–119, 61.4: εἰδέναι χρῆ, ὅτι
εἰς τρεῖς τάξεις κείντεν αἰ ἐνταῦθα
40 μεταδίδειν cf. Beneševič, *Taktikon Nikona*
109.6: ἔχω τοῦ μεταδίδειν τὸν πλησίον διὰ τὴν
τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὴν τοῦ πλησίον ἀγάπην καὶ ἐν
τούτῳ εὐεργετεῖν
92 μετ' ἐσὲ cf. κατ' ἐσὲ μονῆς J. Lefort (ed.),
Actes d'Esphigménou, Archives de l'Athos 6

(Paris, 1973), 1, 7 (a. 1034)

100 ἐξηγᾶται cf. Beneševič, *Taktikon Nikona*
108.14: καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐξηγᾶται τοὺς αὐτοῦ
διαφόρους πειρασμούς

Translation

Nikon of the Black Mountain, Letter 9

From the same to Georgios, hegumen of [the monastery] of Koutzoubenti; those who speak and write should not enquire into things which are in accord with the holy and lawful scriptures, as the Lord says, namely that “they sat on the throne of Moses” and so on.

My spiritual and honorable father, you have asked my honorable father here, the monk Klemes, to inquire into the rubrics compiled through holy providence in <my> paltry books, and I ask your holiness and your love in God, that you should study the books which are with you accurately and not superficially. And you will be able, through the grace of God, to find out and understand everything, because their meaning is simple by the grace of God; for these things were not spoken through my own knowledge, nor were they thoughts of another sinful person, but they were compiled from the holy scriptures with much diligence according to God. And in each rubric there is an annotation saying from which work it is derived: |83r from the lawful books by the grace of Christ and the manifest ones, from which he (?) took the laws of God and the *kanones* and the commandments, the words and the interpretations of the holy fathers and teachers of the catholic and apostolic church and his (?) *nomokanon*, my honorable father; and you have books that contain the holy synods and all of the books (blessed) by the grace of Christ; and examine how a rubric or a *kanon* is inscribed, and you will find the answer there. And there is no need for extensive research by others, by the grace of Christ, for those who know the contents of the scriptures, unless one is totally ignorant of writing or deprived of books. If there are some rubrics in <my> paltry books about which one may encounter difficulties, neither will these remain unexplained nor unsupported by evidence due to Christ’s grace, but they are accompanied by scholia with acknowledgments and explanations from the holy scriptures; and since these agree with the holy scriptures and do not deviate from them in meaning, whosever work they may be, and this is why I put them into the paltry books, because they speak according to the intention of the holy scriptures, and not as the sinful person who uttered and wrote down the rubric wished and acted. And my honorable father, although I am unworthy, I will nevertheless follow that word of the Lord which says that “he sat on the throne of Moses” and so on. But look, my father, into the interpretation of the gospel according to Matthew and you will find the usefulness of the saying. And may I not be blamed by your holiness for not searching for him who wrote or spoke when I find a text or listen to a discourse, and for only investigating whether the words or the written text derive

their power from holy scripture, because I do not investigate further nor do I examine precisely such things. But I, your unworthy child, trusting in your love in the Lord as my father, reveal to you my reasoning, that we should suppress the bond of love from the beginning; and what I do not know, God knows; for, in the meantime, if God dispenses to me something bodily or spiritual, I cannot keep it just to myself, but I immediately chafe to transmit it to my neighbor, and I often hand it over completely and thus deprive myself (of it). And let him who has a use for it accept it, and him who has no use set it aside; I know, my father, no more about these matters than the above. But, my father, <my> paltry books do not contain anything concerning the dogma of faith, so they may have some authority, nothing because of my simplicity and ignorance, but are practical throughout and treat of actions. And they reveal what many persons are not aware of. And we proceeded from oblivion to contempt and rather to error; and we have sunk into worldly and deeply sinful thoughts and for this reason we have been separated from God and have been enslaved among the heathen. There was no need by the grace of Christ to dogmatize about faith to gain authority, as I have said earlier; but <it was necessary to talk> about abstinence, poverty, and especially about matters of concern to monks; and about the other kinds of purity of soul and body, a matter of concern to all Christians but especially to us, the Orthodox, by the grace of Christ. And therefore no reasonable authority prevails in these (books) with Christ's grace, for they do not discuss faith, as I have told your holiness before.

As for investigating the fast of the Theotokos, you can do that easily; there, in <my> paltry books, you may find detailed information about everything, not explicitly what you should do this way or that; nor am I instructing with authority, but I only wrote what I found ... about the Theotokos, what each text says ... and this ... and I acted according to what I found ... writing according to tradition. For I wrote following the texts which some handed down to us |84r and the writings others composed, and the holy scriptures, and whatever each text says and nothing else; and such writings supported by Christ's grace do not offer any kind of authority or pose any danger. Forgive me, my father, for I am wretched, but I arrange as I consider best all things concerning the Theotokos which reach my ears; and I shudder at everything written or spoken in her name, for initially I resisted greatly too, when I heard or saw some people observing it (the fast), until I toiled and found the holy scriptures as witnesses. And it (the book) was not <written> about the dogma of faith that it might have authority, my father, as I said earlier, but it is about actions and self-control, which is lauded by all holy writings and suits every time and every day and is comprehensively numbered by the apostle among

the fruits of spiritual gifts; and again the fast (of the Theotokos) does not belong to the forbidden fasts of Saturday, Sunday and the great feast days, <but is> a preliminary purification and cleansing by faith in the pure and undefiled Theotokos.

And, my father, read the letter that I sent along with Theodoros so that you may deliver it to *abba* Gerasimos, and you will find therein my full views and thoughts about this matter. But know this too, my father: those things that are manifest and contain no controversy whatsoever, I both discuss and write about without fear and with confidence; but those that contain either some consequence or some controversy, I call and describe as points of view; and let this be added: that if a reader has some better idea, he should think about it and let what pleases God occur; I am doing it in that way, my father, and with Christ's grace I keep myself free from any fault against God or humankind; I am seeking to learn what is best and for that reason, my father, I have written that way; if you collect everything |84v carefully and often find something incomprehensible, either in the rubrics or in the scholia, having a different meaning, then as you love God I beg you to write to me, as long as I am alive. And as the one will of God should be done, so I, the wretched, accomplish my work with the help of the Lord; and I think that God knows if I exhausted the matter; I therefore beg your holiness and your love in God, as well as my fathers (who are) with you, and the brothers, to pray for me that God may have mercy upon me and that he may rescue me from the snares of the devil, the enemy of all; and similarly from my own carnal thinking and intention; and from all human beings who have sinful thoughts and intentions; by the intercessions of the Theotokos and all saints, amen.

And this I write, my father, that if one of those present here or in another country is found to say anything contrary to what I have written or said, and expresses his own views falsely attributing them to me, he should be ignored and indeed be punished accordingly; but if he interprets the divinely inspired scriptures in a reasonable manner, then nobody should hinder him, for the word of God is not bound, as it is written. And I, my father, will listen in great fear and love to such things, whether the speaker is a pupil of mine or a stranger, as I always say. For I do not seek the speaker, but the spoken word; and especially not what concerns the dogma of faith, but the teaching of action, for all matters of faith, by the grace of Christ, were defined precisely at the holy synods and handed down to us by our fathers of long ago; and we remain steadfast in these matters through the grace of Christ; and therefore there is no need to examine and question faith; nor to question, write about, or deal with such matters with the help of heretics, for the fathers who anticipated this separated them

from us. And <the heretics> do not agree or accept our <faith>, and we do not accept their distorted teachings; and it is inopportune and useless to discuss—this is appropriate |85r, my father, unless, in many ways, a new heresy rises that had not manifested itself at the time of the holy fathers of old, in which case let each one of us fight for our forsaken duty. And may God the Lord support those who truly love him and pray for us.

—Michael Grünbart, *University of Vienna*